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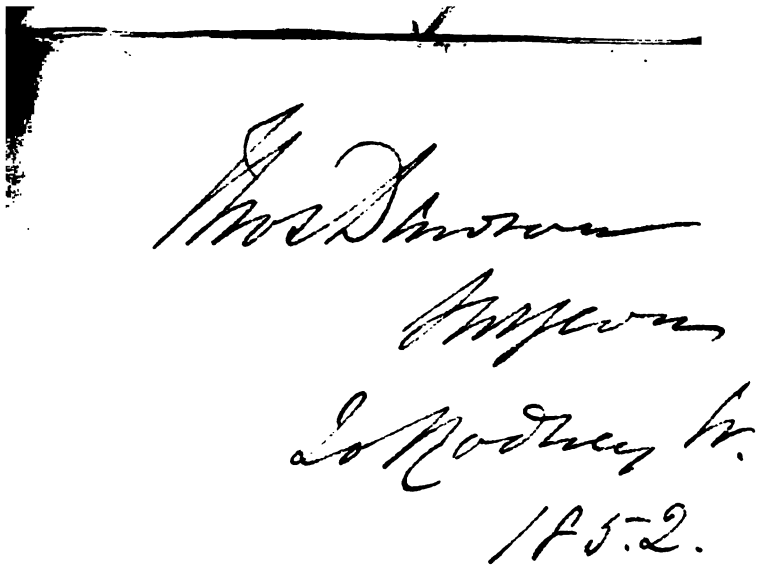

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SESSION IV.

1851-52.

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Page 66, line 24. *Dele* "part of it."

Page 167, line 5. Rev. R. Bannister was not one of the Parish Curates, but came from Upholland.

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Lucas, Henry Walker, 1, Sweeting Street, Liverpool.
Lyon, Thomas, Appleton Hall, Warrington.

Macrorie, David, M.D., M.R.C.S., 126, Duke Street, Liverpool.
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MATHER, JOHN, 58, Mount Pleasant, Liverpool, AUDITOR.
Mather, Robert, 58, Mount Pleasant, Liverpool.
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Mawdesley, Joseph, 8, Prospect Vale, Fairfield, and 49, South John Street, Liverpool.
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MAYER, JOSEPH, F.S.A. 68, Lord Street, Liverpool, HON. CURATOR.
Mayer, Samuel, Newcastle-under-Lyne.
Mayer, Thomas, Dale Hall, Longport, Staffordshire.
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Paris, Thomas Jeremiah, 68, Lord Street, Liverpool.
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Pierce, George Massie, 4, Exchange Alley, and Linacre March, Liverpool.
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Poore, George, J., 42, Castle Street, and Bedford Street North, Liverpool.
Poore, Henry, C., 42, Castle Street, and Bedford Street North, Liverpool.
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Preston, William, 13, Vernon Street, and Rock House, West Derby Road, Liverpool.
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Ross, Charles James, 58, Crown Street, Liverpool.
D. Ross, David, Chronicle Office, Church Street, Liverpool.
Rosson, John, Moor Hall, Ormskirk.

P. Sandford, Rev. G. B., M.A., Church Minshull, Middlewich.
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D.*Varty, Thomas, 39, Prospect Vale, Fairfield, and Lime Street, Liverpool.

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Waterhouse, Sebastian, 13, Percy Street, Liverpool.
D. *Way, Albert, M.A., F.S.A., Wonham Manor, Reigate, Surrey.
E. Webster, George, Exchange Alley North, and 7, Nortnumberland Terrace, Everton, Liverpool.
D.E.*WHITEHEAD, JAMES WRIGHT, Orange Court, Castle Street, and 15, Duke Street, Edge Hill, Liverpool.
Whiteley, Rev. William, Whitegate, Northwich.
Williams, John, Chester.
Willoughby, Edward G.
Wilson, Henry, 12, Everton Terrace, and Collegiate Institution, Liverpool.
Winstanley, Samuel T., 68, Mount Pleasant, Liverpool.
Wolley, George, 20, Mason Street, Edge Hill, Liverpool.
Wood, Venerable Isaac, M.A., Archdeacon of Chester, The Vicarage, Middlewich.
Wood, Isaac Moreton, Middlewich, Cheshire.

Wood, John Nelson, Chapel Walks, South Castle Street, and Oaklands, Rock Ferry, Cheshire.
Woodhouse, John George, 47, Henry Street, Liverpool.
Wright, William, 25, Exchange Alley North, and 25, Deane Street, Fairfield, Liverpool.

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. Bell, William, Ph.D., 17, Gower Place, Euston Square, London.
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D. De Perthes, J. Boucher de Crevecoeur, Chevalier des ordres de Malte et de Legion d'honneur, membre des diverses Sociétés Savantes, Abbeville.
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Willis, Rev. Robert, M.A., F.R.S., Jacksonian Professor, Caius' College, Cambridge.

COUNCIL AND OFFICERS FOR 1851-52.

President.

The Right Hon. The Earl of Ellesmere, D.C.L., F.S.A., F.L.S., F.G.S., Worsley Hall, Lancashire.

Vice-Presidents.

Ex Officiis.

The Mayor of Chester.

The Mayor of Lancaster.

The Mayor of Liverpool.

The Mayor of Manchester.

Elected.

Right Hon. The Earl of Sefton, Croxteth Hall, Lancashire.

Major-General The Hon. Sir Edward Cust, K.C.H., F.R.S., Leasowe Castle, Cheshire.

The Venerable Jonathan Brooks, M.A., Archdeacon of Liverpool, Everton, Liverpool.

Rev. David Thom, D.D., Ph.D., Edge Hill, Liverpool.

Other Members of the Council, elected.

Rev. George Clayton, M.A., Warmingham, Middlewich.

Sir Philip Grey Egerton, Bart., M.P., F.R.S., F.G.S., Oulton Park, Tarporley.

John Harland, Esq., Manchester.

Edward Higgin, Esq., Elmleigh, Brecksside Park.

Rev. J. S. Howson, M.A., Collegiate Institution.

Thomas Johnson Kilpin, Esq., Arrad Street, Hope Street.

John Just, Esq., Grammar School, Bury.

James Kendrick, M.D., Warrington.

David Lamb, Esq., Plumpton Terrace, Everton.

John Buck Lloyd, Esq., Exchange Alley, Exchange Street West.

James Middleton, Esq., Grecian Terrace, Everton.

Hugh Neill, F.R.A.S., Mount Pleasant.

James A. Picton, F.S.A., Clayton Square.

C. B. Robinson, Esq., 102, Chatham Street.

John Robson, Esq., Warrington.

James W. Whitehead, Esq., Orange Court, Castle Street.

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Peter R. M'Quie, Esq., 20, Water Street.

John Mather, Esq., 58, Mount Pleasant.

Treasurer.

Thomas Avison, F.S.A., 16, Cook Street, Liverpool.

Honorary Curator of the Museum.

Joseph Mayer, F.S.A., 68, Lord Street, Liverpool.

Honorary Secretaries.

Corresponding Secretary.

Rev. A. Hume, D.C.L., LL.D., F.S.A., 9, Clarence Street, Everton, Liverpool.

Recording Secretary.

Rev. Thomas Moore, M.A., 57, Everton Road, Liverpool.

Secretary in London.

H. C. Pidgeon, Esq., 2, Russell Place.

FIRST MEETING.

Collegiate Institution, 13th November, 1851.

David Thom, D.D., Vice-President, in the Chair.

PROCEEDINGS.

The Minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The Certificates of nine Candidates for Membership were read for the first time.

The following was enrolled a Member, without election or entrance fee, in accordance with Bye-law of 28th November, 1849:—

John Williams, Esq., late Mayor of Chester.

The following were duly elected:—

1. *Honorary Member.*

Wm. Bell, Ph.D., 17, Gower Place, Euston Square, London.

2. *Ordinary Members.*

Robert Hugh Brackstone, 47, Wood Street, London.
John Binning Donaldson, 14, Low Hill Terrace, Liverpool.

The following Donations to the Society were laid upon the table:—

1. From the *Societies.*

Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London, No. 28.

The Sussex Archæological Collections, vol. iv.

Archæologia Cambrensis, or Journal of the Cambrian Archæological Association for July and October, 1851.

Transactions of the Kilkenny Archæological Society, for 1850.

2. From the *Authors*.

Collectanea Antiqua, vol. ii. part 6, by Chas. Roach Smith, F.S.A.

Etchings of Anglo-Saxon Antiquities, extracted from Do. by Do.

Miscellanea Palatina; consisting of Genealogical Essays, illustrative of Lancashire and Cheshire families, and a memoir on the Cheshire Domesday Roll. By George Ormerod, D.C.L., &c.

Treasure Trove in Northumberland, by John Fenwick, Esq.

History of Liverpool, part vi. By Thomas Baines, Esq.

3. From the *Editors*.

Ancient Charters, and other Muniments of the Borough of Clitheroe; edited from the original documents, with Translations and Notes. By John Harland, Esq.

Autobiography of Wm. Stout of Lancaster, wholesale and retail grocer and ironmonger; a Member of the Society of Friends,—A.D. 1685–1752. Edited by John Harland, Esq.

The Restoration of All Nations, or a Vindication of the Goodness and Grace of God; by Jeremiah White, Chaplain to Oliver Cromwell. Edited by D. Thom, D.D., Ph.D.

4. From the *Artists*.

A map of the Borough of Liverpool, for computing distances for the fares of Hackney Coaches, 1851. Executed for the Corporation of Liverpool, by Maclure, Macdonald, and Macgregor.

Lithograph of the Ancient Stone Coffins, cut in the rock, at Heysham, Lancashire; by the Rev. J. F. Lee, M.A., Grammar School Lancaster.—Lithograph of a portion of the Walls of Ancient Verulam; by Ditto.—Etching of Roman Sepulchral Remains, found in the Church-yard of St. Stephen's, near St. Albans, 1848, by Ditto.—Etching of part of a Column found at St. Albans; by Ditto.—Etching of the doorway of the Church of Belgrave, Leicestershire; by Do.

5. From *other* Donors.

Jos. Mayer, F S A., Proprietor.	An Anastatic fac-simile of the Chronicle of Thomas Sprott, privately printed by Joseph Mayer, F.S.A.; with a copy of the original in Roman letter, and an English translation by Dr. Bell.
John Fenwick, Esq.	Slogans of the North of England, by Michael Hislabie Denham, Esq.
John Caton Thompson, Esq.	Blome's Britannia, 1673.
J. H. Johnson, Esq.	The New Testament, by Bonham Norton, 1673. Pharmacopeiæ Londiniensis, 1683.
	Chronological Chart of Anglican Church Architecture.
James Kendrick, M.D., Warrington.	The History of Manchester, by the Rev. W. Whitaker, 1773.
John Harland, Esq.	Newspaper Cuttings of various Antiquarian Articles.
Mr. James Stonehouse.	The Art of War, by Nicholas Machiavell, 1560.
Mr. Thomas Brakell.	An American Bull-frog, preserved and stuffed.

The following Articles were EXHIBITED :—

By P. R. M'Quie, Esq.	A volume entitled "Cœlum Philosophorum, seu liber de secretis Naturae;" per Philippum Ulstadium. Lugduni, 1557.
	Two ancient drinking bowls of stone, with carved circles, and oriental inscriptions. One of black stone is from the shore of the Black Sea; the other of variegated marble is from Jerusalem.
By Dr. Hume.	Three jagged spears of wood. One is said to be from Caffraria, with feathered head and arrow notches; another is from New South Wales; and the third, of very curious construction, from Western Africa.
By Andrew J. Lamb, Esq.	An ancient Fibula of peculiar construction, believed to have been found in Whittlesea Mere.
By Joseph Mayer, F.S.A.	The following drawings to illustrate his Paper :—viz., 1. Peel Hall, near Tarvin, Cheshire.—2. Another view of Ditto.—3 Inscription on Ditto.—4. Gayton Hall, near Heswall, Cheshire.—5. Stair-case at Ditto.—6. Heswall Church, Cheshire.—7. Three curious monuments in Ditto.

By Richard Brooke, F.S.A.

The Poll Book of Free Burgesses of Liverpool, who voted at the election for Liverpool in 1780, when the contest took place between Bamber Gascoyne, Jun., Esq., Richard Pennant, Esq., and Henry Rawlinson, Esq., which terminated in the election of Mr. Gascoyne and Mr. Rawlinson.

The Book of Addresses, Squibs, Pasquinades, Songs, &c., written on the occasion of that election. We learn from it that the principal electioneering houses of the candidates were the Fleece (Banner's), and George's Coffee House, Castle Street, for Mr. Gascoyne; the Golden Lion (Forshaw's), for Mr. Pennant; and the Talbot, Black Horse, and Rainbow, for Mr. Rawlinson.

The Poll Book, &c., for 1796, when the candidates were General Tarleton and Colonel Gascoyne, who were elected, and John Tarleton, Esq., who was unsuccessful.

The Book of Addresses, Squibs, &c., of that election.

Miscellaneous Communications.

Mr. Brooke stated, that between 30 and 40 years ago, a ceremony somewhat similar to the election of a Mock Mayor in Newcastle, Staffordshire, used to take place annually in Liverpool. On every St. Luke's day, 18th October (on which day the Mayor of Liverpool was then elected), a number of working men, acting as a kind of Mock Corporation, used to meet at Page's Tavern, in Roscoe Street, for the purpose of electing a Mock Mayor. They were called the Mayor and Corporation of "Asses' Green," from the circumstance of an uninclosed tract of ground being then in front of the tavern, extending thence to the west side of Rodney Street, and forming part of it. After the election, which took place after dark, the new "Mayor of Asses' Green" underwent the ceremony of "Chairing." He was carried in procession, attended by drums and fifes, with colours, and occasionally torches, and accompanied by a considerable crowd; and the procession proceeded through Roscoe Street and Leece Street, into Rodney Street, and when it arrived about half-way between Leece Street and Knight Street it made a halt, and "the Corporation" and populace sang "*God save the King.*" They used to halt close to Mr. Brooke's residence; and as they were invariably well conducted, and as he considered the ceremony harmless, he was accustomed to give "his worship" a small gratuity. The procession then used to move on along Rodney Street to Knight Street, down the latter to Roscoe Street, and back to the Tavern. Mr. Brooke also stated, that he had no reason to suppose that the ceremony of electing the Mock Mayor of Asses' Green was an ancient one. It has now

been discontinued for many years; the last time that he could recollect seeing the procession was on St. Luke's day, about 30 years ago.

Mr. Neill mentioned, that of the original members of the Liverpool Athenæum, established in 1798, only three now survive.

Dr. Hume read a letter from the Town Clerk, intimating that the Library and Museum Committee of the Town Council had agreed to provide accommodation for the Society's Collection, at the apartments of the Free Public Library and Museum.

A letter having been read from John Ireland Blackburne, Esq., of Hale, suggesting that at least two meetings of the Session should be held during the day, for the accommodation of non-resident members;

It was moved by HUGH NEILL, F.R.A.S., seconded by RICHARD BROOKE, F.S.A., and resolved,—

"That the Society, approving and recommending the principle of the suggestion, refer the matter to the Council for consideration, and for the arrangement of details if necessary."

PAPER.

THE ALLEGED ROYAL VISITS TO LIVERPOOL.

By Joseph Mayer, F.S.A.

It is always at a disadvantage that any one sets up a doubt, or even hints at the want of historical evidence to support an old, and generally received tradition; nor ought we to wonder at this, for one half the world never ask themselves the question whether it is likely to be true, or whence the narrator had his authority for the assertion. On the contrary, they content themselves with the probability of the occurrence, and so taking it for granted, tradition often becomes, in course of time, embodied into written history, and is handed down by after writers on the subject as fact. Just such is the case in the subject now before us; where various writers on the early history of Liverpool, after failing to make it a British or a Roman Station, boldly drag in Royalty to fill up the gap, which they wished could have been occupied by a British Chieftain or a Roman Emperor.

But surely this is not the true end and aim of History—to bring forward mere imaginings and suppositions, to be set forth in such light as to be like a "Jack-o'-Lantern" leading us into a quagmire;

and then, on the return of thought, we find that we have been misled, and stand upon a flimsey coating of unconsolidated rubbish.

I shall not presume to lay down any rules for guidance in Historical writing; but I must say that at the present day too much time is thrown away in argument on subjects that are quite unworthy of the higher ends that ought to be held in view by every one who undertakes to write on History. And however fond we may be of doing honor to our home, truth should not be sacrificed at the altar of doubt; as it is far better to be accused of "the sin of ignorance" than blamed for negligence.

In most of the histories of Liverpool, King John is said to have visited this town in the year 1206, but of that event we have no positive record, as we shall presently see; the only document now preserved being one in the Close Rolls, which states that the King was at Lancaster on the 26th of February, 1206, and at Chester on the 28th of February following. But that is not sufficient documentary evidence to prove that the King visited Liverpool on his way from Lancaster to Chester; for Liverpool is not at that time named at all. That the King might have stayed at his hunting-seat, in the Royal Forest of Toxteth, is probable; but it is more likely, I think, that he stayed at the homestead of some neighbouring Lord, where he would be entertained in a befitting manner as a Sovereign, than that he should visit the Castle of Liverpool, even admitting that Castle to have been in existence at the time, which we have very poor grounds for asserting.

It was in 1208—two years after this alleged visit—that John first became possessor of the town of Liverpool, as the following document shews:—

> "John, by the Grace of God, &c.—Know ye that we have granted, and by our present Charter have confirmed, to Henry Fitz-Warine of Lancaster, the lands which King Henry, my father, gave to Warine, his father, for his services, to wit: Ravinesmoles, Amnolnesdal, and the French Lea, *which we have given to him in exchange for Liverpul and Uplitherland*, which the aforesaid Henry, my father, had given with the

aforesaid lands, to the aforesaid Warine, his father, *and which the said Henry hath remised to us and our heirs.* To be holden to him and to his heirs (on payment of) 20/ yearly, at the feast of St. Michael, for all service and exaction, saving to us and our heirs the wardships and marriages of the heirs of the said Henry, in manner as our ancestors used to have the same, when Warine, the father of the said Henry, did the service of a falconer to our ancestors. Wherefore the aforesaid Henry, and his heirs after him, may have and hold the aforesaid lands, with all their appurtenances, of us and our heirs, by the aforesaid service, in wood and plain, in ways and paths, in meadows and feedings, in moors and marshes, in waters and mills, and in pools, well and in peace, freely and quietly, peaceably and honorably, fully and entirely, in all places and things, with all liberties and free customs, to the aforesaid lands pertaining, as is aforesaid.

"Witness,

"William, Earl Warenne,
"William, Earl of Derby,
"S. de Quency, Earl of Winchester,
"William Bruhere,
"Gilbert Fitz Reinfare (Reinfrea),
"Thomas Basset,
"Allan Basset,
"Robert de Groséley (Grezley),
"William de Cantilupe.

"Given by the hand of Henry de Wells, Archdeacon of Wells, at Winchester, on the 28th day of August in the 9th year of our Reign."

We now begin to find that the King saw the great advantages that would flow from establishing a town at the entrance of the Mersey, as he would by this means make that part of the coast secure against the attack from an enemy. Accordingly, in the same year, he ordered his vassals in Toxteth to settle in the new Town, and as an inducement thereto, gave them the following grant:—

"Carta Regis Johannis.

"Rex om'ib' qui burgagia ap' villam de Liv'pul h're volu'int &c. Sciatis quod c.cessim' om'ib' qui burgagia ap' Liv'pul cep'int q^d ha'nt omnes libertates et lib'as c.suetudines in villa de Liv'pul quas aliquis lib. burg. sup' mare h't in t'ra n'ra.

Et i'o vob. mandam^{s} q^{d} secure et in pace n'ra illuc veniatis ad burgagia n'ra recipienda et hospitanda. Et in huj^{s} rei testim^{o} has litt^{r}as n'ras patentes vob. transmittm^{s}. T. Sim. de Patesh. ap' Wint. xxvij die Aug. anno r. n. jx^{o}.—p. Sim. de Patesh."*

TRANSLATION.

"The King to all who may be willing to have burgages at the town of Liverpul &c. Know ye that we have granted to all who shall take burgages at Liverpul that they shall have all liberties and free customs in the town of Liverpul which any free borough on the sea hath in our land. And we therefore command you, that securely and in our peace you come there to receive and inhabit our burgages.—And in testimony hereof we send you these our letters patent. Witness Simon de Pateshill at Winchester the twenty-seventh day of August in the ninth year of our reign. By Simon de Pateshill."

Thus it was made a free Burgh. We must mention, however, that it is asserted that in the 4th year of this reign, 1203, certain repairs were made of the Castle of Liverpool; but so inexpensive were they, that it must either have been lately erected and required few repairs, or else the record alludes to some small tower of defence; as, in the same year, we find there were much larger works done at West Derby Castle.

I have therefore come to the conclusion, that from the evidence adduced, there is very little foundation for the belief that his Majesty, King John, visited Liverpool at this time; and certainly he did not do so on his return from Ireland at a later period of his reign.

Now let us see what authority we have for the assertion that King William the Third visited Liverpool, on his way to Ireland and the Battle of the Boyne, in 1690.

In the first place, we have plenty of documentary evidence that Liverpool was not such a place as would tempt a King to go out of

* Copied from a Transcript in the Records of the Corporation of Liverpool, which was taken from the original Record of Chancery remaining in the Tower of London. Rot. Pat. 9 Joh. No. 30.—J. M.

his way to see it, at a time when the dismemberment of part of his Kingdom was threatened, and his subjects in Ireland in rebellion against him. The safety of all depended upon prompt and decisive measures being taken on the spot. Nay, would he not have been blamed for imprudence in delay, had he spent his time in visits of condescension when he ought to have been in the field, inspecting his troops; which were then waiting for him at Hoylake, the place of embarkation. Liverpool at that time was not considered a safe harbour "by reason of the strong tydes that run here;"* besides which, there were many reasons why Liverpool was not chosen as the place of rendezvous—amongst which was the uncertainty of obtaining provisions for the army in that neigbourhood, as the country was for the most part an uncultivated waste for many miles round on this side of the Mersey; entirely without roads and the necessary means of conveyance. This appears to have been well known to the authorities of that day, and we find some time before that orders were given to the Commissariat, as follows:—

"Instructions to be observed by Godphrey Richards, Purveyo^{r} of their Majs^{ties} Train.

"You shall wth all convenient speed repair into England p'ticular into county of Lancaster and ye adjacent there to bargain for and buy att the chepest rates & in ye most convenient place or places for shipping off & transportation to Belfast in this pvince such & so great a quantity of good cleane dry and wholesome oates as may be a convenient supply in ye season for ye Horses of their Maj^{ties} Train. And if ye may not be had in & about Lancashire for & at a reasonable Price you are to use all Expedition in repairing to Milford haven and the country adjacent their to buy ye said quantity of ye said grain in which yo^{u} shall use yor utmost care, skill, & Diligence.

"And for a supply of money to buy or purchas the said quantity of oates yo^{u} shall have & recieve a lett^{r} of creadite directed to ye Hono^{ble} Sr Henry Goodrich Knight & Barr^{tt} Lt Genrall of their Maj^{ties} Ordinance & ye rest of ye principall officers of ye same to supply yo^{u} with any sum to any place

* See Collins' Great Britain Coasting Pilot.

for ye purpose aforesaid not exceeding three Hundred Pounds starling. And in regard expedition is to be used in ye s^d^ service for ye better pformance thereof yo^u^ shall also reseive a warr^tt^ for one of ye ships now in their Maj^ties^ service to Transport ye said oates into ye s^d^ Towne of Belfast of 35 Tuns or thereabouts.

"You shall also observe such further ord^rs^ & Instructions as from tyme to tyme yo^u^ shall recieve of me or shall be sent yo^u^ by Sr Henry Goodrich & the rest of the Principall Officers of ye Ordinance before mentioned. Given att ye head Quarters at Lisborne this 8th of January 1689 in ye first yeare of their Maj^ties^ Raine &c.

"SCHOMBERG."

Let us now trace the records of the Royal progress, and we shall find it stated that King William left London on the 4th of June, 1690; slept at Peel Hall, the seat of Colonel Roger Whiteley, near Tarvin, on the 9th; and the next day we find him at Chester, and being Sunday morning, attending Divine Service at the Cathedral. From thence, the same afternoon, he travelled to Gayton Hall, near Parkgate, the mansion of William Glegg, Esq., where he stayed on the night of the 10th;* and the next morning, commanding Mr. Glegg to kneel before him, he struck him on the shoulder with his sword, and putting out his hand, raised him as Sir William Glegg. Departing from Gayton, he at once proceeded to the Leasowes; and the troops striking their tents, were put in motion, and embarked on board the Royal Fleet (at a point since called the King's Gap) lying on the Lake, and sailed out with the tide at noonday.

The following order corroborates the date of the King's staying at Gayton:—

"By virtue of his Majesty's order, dated at Gayton the tenth day of June, 1690:—I doe discharge you William Reymer (fformerly) Edward Tarlton master of the James of Liverpoole from his said Majesties service, and you are hereby discharged

* It was during his stay at Gayton that the King granted to Sir William and his heirs for ever, the free fishery of the River Dee, which right is now exercised by his descendants.

from the day of the date hereof. Given at my office at Hoylake this Eleventh day of August Anno domini One thousand six hundred and ninety.

"SAM[LL] ATKINSON."

"To William Reymer (fformerly) Edward Tarlton master of the James of Liverpool."*

This Edward Tarlton was the person who piloted the King's vessel from Hoylake to Carrickfergus.

We have, down to the present time, some idea of the state of the roads in those days, and see the time it took to go from one place to another on the King's highroad. How then would it be possible, as has been alleged by various writers, that the King with his retinue could pass either from Chester to Liverpool and then to Gayton, or from Gayton to Liverpool and then to Hoylake in one day, over a cross country, where there were only agricultural roads, and having on either supposition, to cross and recross the river Mersey? The accomplishment of so much would be almost an impossibility at that time, and a good day's work at the present time, with all the advantages which we now possess of good and nearly direct roads from one place to the other. I think, on looking at the large tract of country which would have to be traversed by the King, and the

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* Copied from the original document in the possession of Mr. Thomas Moore, a descendant of the Tarltons. But, for the above service and others rendered the King, we find that Edward Tarlton never received his due reward; and his widow, petitioning the Parliament, received the following order—though never paid:—

"Transport Office, Aug. 20, 1695.

"No. 252.

"Whereas by an Act of Parliament passed in y[e] seaventh year of his Ma[ties] Reign y[e] Comm[rs] of Transportacon are Impowered and Directed to make out authentick Debentures for all and every the Ships hired for Transporting Forces, Ammunicon and Provisions, for reducing y[e] Kingdom of Ireland to its due obedience to his Ma[tie]. We y[e] said Comm[rs] doe certifie that there is due to the Ship Wheel of ffortune, Ralph Standish M[r] the sume of fourtey three Pounds & Eight Shillings as appears by an acc[t] stated in y[e] Books of this office, and is hereby to be p[d] to Mrs. Ann Tarlton or her assignes for y[e] use of y[e] owners of said ship.

"SAM. ATKINSON,
"ANTH. DUNCOMBE,
"RON[T] HENLY,
"THO: HOPKINS."

"Entered in y[e] Auditors Office
p[r] order y[e] Comm
JOHN HENLY.

means at hand for doing it, that difficulties would be presented which would at once have deterred his Majesty from attempting it: and the more so, as he could have no special object in view in visiting such a poor and insignificant town as Liverpool then was. And if it was undertaken at all, it must have been on the way from Chester to Gayton, where the distance would have been nearly 30 miles, as there certainly would not have been time to do it the next day from Gayton, before high water, at which time the King and his fleet sailed out of the Lake.

By a computation of the state of the tide on the 10th of June, 1690, old style, I find it was high water at Hoylake or Liverpool at nine o'clock, A.M.; but we now find, by the alteration in time of flowing of the tides, that, by the present computation of rise and flow, it would have been twenty-two minutes past eleven. The former computation is, however, no doubt correct; as we find that the King's ship, on board of which his Majesty was, grounded on a Bank near the Point of Ayre, off the Isle of Man, at about four o'clock the next morning. This being the low water of a spring tide, his vessel did not get off for more than an hour afterwards; and the Bank has ever since been called "King William's Bank."

On these data, therefore, my conviction is, that neither King John nor William the Third, nor indeed any other Sovereign of these Realms, visited Liverpool; until the time just now passed, when Her most gracious Majesty, Queen Victoria, was pleased to honor the town with her august presence on the ninth day of last month. Her loyal and faithful subjects vied with each other to receive her with all the demonstrations of homage and affection, as became a great people to a great Queen; and on the part of Her Majesty, we shall long remember the satisfaction which she expressed at the view of the mighty works raised on the site of the once small fishing village, and the great signs of progress still carrying on in this "city of ships."

The annexed Illustration,—representing the Box which contained the address presented to the Queen by the Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council,—is supplied by Mr. Mayer, at the request of the Society.

SECOND MEETING.

Collegiate Institution, 8th December, 1851.

JOHN ROBSON, Esq., in the Chair.

PROCEEDINGS.

The Minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The Certificates of eight Candidates for Membership were read for the first time.

The following was enrolled a Member, without election or entrance fee, in accordance with Bye-law of 28th November, 1849 :—

Sir John Bent, late Mayor of Liverpool.

The following were duly elected Ordinary Members :—

Cornelius Bourne, of Stalmine Hall, Preston.
Rev. Peter Steele Dale, M.A., Hill House, Higher Tranmere.
Robert Norris Dale, 12, Exchange Street East.
James Edgar, 5, Wesley Street, Toxteth Park.
William John Hammond, Swift Court, 11, Castle Street.
John Hodgson Hinde, 9, Saville Row, Newcastle-on-Tyne, and Acton House, Felton, Northumberland.
Joseph Perrin, 15, Prince's Street, Manchester.
Rev. Wm. Thornber, B.A., Blackpool.
John Abraham Tinne, Briarley, Aigburth, and Bank Chambers, 8, Cook Street, Liverpool.

The following DONATIONS to the Society were laid upon the table :—

1. From the *Societies*.

Communications made to the Society. No. 1. From the Cambridge Antiquarian Society.
Proceedings of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Liverpool, No. 6.

2. From *individual* Donors.

John Mather, Esq.	Ormerod's History of the County Palatine of Chester, 3 vols. fol. 1819.
Jos. Guyton, Esq.	A Black-letter Bible, of the date 1551.
Miss Chambers.	Observations on Meteorology, by J. H. Chambers, of the 46th Regiment.
John Harland, Esq.	Newspaper Cuttings of various Antiquarian articles.
Rev. W. H. Massie, M.A.	Three Etchings of Paintings in distemper, found on the walls of Gawsworth Church, during the alterations now going on there.

1. St. Christopher carrying the infant Christ over a river. He walks on the water, supporting himself by his stick. The background is filled up with various figures, amongst which is a church, with bell in the turret, &c., and in front stands a nun, in the usual costume, with flagellum and rosary. In her left hand she holds a lantern, to direct the saint, should he want light.
2. St. George and the Dragon. In the distance the princess is on her knees, and before her a lamb. Further off is a walled town, with the king and queen looking over the gateway.
3. The General Judgment.

The following Articles were EXHIBITED :—

By the Rt. Hon. the Earl of Sefton, Vice President.	A large collection, consisting of 33 silver and 47 copper coins, found on the estate of his lordship, at a farm called "The Old Sprink," in the parish of Torbock, in the year 1838. They include several of the emperors, Vespasian, Domitian, Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, Aurelius, and others, with one of Julia, daughter of Titus, inscribed "IVLIA. AVGVSTA. TITI. AVGVSTI. F.;" on the reverse, "R. VENVS. AVGVST."
By J. A. Graham, M.R.C.S.L.	Four charms or amulets of parchment, nearly seven inches long, by four broad, on which are written sentences from the Koran.—These were taken from the persons of the

	Malay pirates during the late expedition up the rivers of Borneo, by the officers and men of H.M. ship Royalist.
By Miss Okill.	An early Map of Lancashire (from Speed), by Henry Overton.
By Dr. Kendrick.	A Horn-book of the time of Charles II. Pulpit Bible used at Hill-Cliff Chapel, date 1633.
	Various Drawings in illustration of his paper.
By Richard Brooke, F.S.A.	A Bill of Lading, dated 1st February, 1766, for 24 male and 6 female slaves, shipped at the bar of Senegal for Georgia, S. Carolina, by the Ship Maryborough, Capt. David Morton. The slaves were consigned to Messrs. Broughton and Smith, of Georgia. The bill was one of those used when Liverpool participated largely, but in common with other seaports of England, in the African slave trade.
By Joseph Guyton, Esq.	Fossil bones found at Saxmundham, in Suffolk. They are so numerous as to become an article of use in agriculture.
	Two pieces of copper, similar to the gold fibulæ usually found in Britain. These are used on the coast of Manilla as the current coin of the country.
By C. B. Robinson, Esq.	Sketches taken in various parts of the country, viz. :—
	From St. Andrews, 5; Foulis Church, 3; Arbroath Abbey, 3; Bangor, 1; Bebington, 1; Chester, 3; Ellesmere, 1; Furness Abbey, 1; Invergarvie, 2.
By Dr. Hume.	Lithographed portrait of Kossuth.—Artist, Thos. Skaife.
By Alfred Rimmer, Esq.	Proofs of his Illustrations of Ancient Halls in Lancashire.

By Joseph Mayer, F.S.A. An ancient deed, historically interesting as relating to the original quay; the first accommodation given by Liverpool to the ships which traded with the port. The document is entitled—"*Lease of Gorsy fields for ever, paye* 6/8 *ground rent;*" and endorsed, "M^{d} that possessyon & seasyn was taken & deliv'ed by the attornes w'hin wrytten in the p.sence of these p.sones folowynge viz Robert Corbett Rauffe Jameson Rauffe Egekers Thom's Englefelde cum aliis."

"This indenture made the xijth daye of August in the thyrd

yere of the raigne of o^{r} Soveraigne ladie Elizabeth by the grace of God Quyne of England France and Ireland defend^{or} of the faith &c. Betwyxte Rauff Sekerston* Mayre of the Quynes Majesties borough and porttowne of Liv'rpole in the com' of Lancast^{r} his brether and cominaltie upon the oone p.tie, and Thomas Secomm* of the same towne & countie gentylman upon thoder p.tie Wyttenessyth y^{t} whereas William More* esq'er in thoose dayes past mayre of liv'pole aforsaid his brether and cominaltie of oone holle mynde consent & assent dyd gyve graunte & by they^{r} dede sufficient in the law confirmed unto Hugh Davidson late of liv'pole barcker deceased & to his heyrs and assignes in a fee ferme for ev^{r} all thoose lands wheche they had laying and beyng at the eastende of the galow feld soe eastwarde to a cloose callid the Gorstie heygh in leingh & in breade from the lands of Richard Starckie esquier unto the heath & a long diche callid the common diche upon the sowth p.tie of the sayd galow felde and soe extendyth eastward unto the sowth cornell of the sayd Gorstie heigh whiche lands by gud and just conveyhance in the law discendid unto Gilbert Hughson oone of the sons legitimate of the sayd Hugh Davidson wch Gilbert havyng the right thearein for a certen somme of monieys & other causes hym movying haath as well bargayned sold gyvyn grauntyd surrendred assigned and delivered the sayd lands wyth thapp'tun'nce & all the wrytyngs thereof, as all that his ryght terme tytle int'st possession & demaunde whatsoev^{r} unto the sayd Thomas his heyre & assignes for ever. In corrobaraconn & p.fourmanconn whereof the forsayd Rauff Sekerston mayre aforesayd his brether & cominaltie have gyvyn grauntyd & confyrmed & be theise p.'nts doe frelie give graunte and by this theyr dede confirme unto the sayd Thomas Secom all & ev'ie thoose the same lands as they be wyth the bounds mayred in man'r and fourme before in theise p'nts expressed & specified. To have and to hold all the sayd lands wyth thapp'tn'nce thereto belongyng wythall & singler the liberties commodities easements p.fets & all & singler other thadvauntages to the same in anywise blongyng to the sayd Thomas Secom his heyrs and assigns & to his and they^{r} use

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* William More was Mayor of Liverpool, 15th Henry VIII. A.D. 1523.
Thomas Secom, ditto ditto, 5th Elizabeth, 1562.
Rauff Seckerston, ditto ditto, 3rd and 4th Edward VI. 1550.
Ditto, second time, 4th Elizabeth, 1561.

The Gallow field was situated on the North side of Shaw's Brow, and the East side of the Pool, now Byrom Street. In the South-west corner of the field stood the Townsend cross, at the end of the Bridge which was erected over the Pool at the extremity of Dale Street.

Whilst this sheet is going through the press, all the houses on the side of Shaw's Brow adjoining St. John's Church-yard, together with the whole of the village of Saint John's, as it was called, are being removed, in order to improve the locality. The remains of the very extensive Potteries which once occupied that site are swept away; so that the only remnant now standing is the oon (kiln), situated on the north side of Shaw's Brow, now occupied as an emery mill by Messrs. Johnson, Church Street.

in a fee ferme for ever. Yeldyng therfare yerelie to the sayd Rauff Seckerston mayre his brether cominaltie & to they^r succesſo's & assignes six shylyngs eyght pence of gud & lawfull money of England at the feasts of Sayncte Michaell tharchungell & at the Annonci'con of the blessed virgin S. Marie by evonn porc'ons wch yerelie Rente of vj s & viij d amongyst thother annuall rents of the sayd towne is to be employed to & for the use and p.servac'on of the kayegh in the portte & havon of liv^rpole defence & maynten'nce of they walles on the westseasyde theare: for the rep.ac'on and amendement of the pay^ments as w^ll w'howte the strets of the sayd towne as of they strets wythin the towne wyth other Rep.ac'ons necessarie to the common hall theare: and for wante of rente paym^t and noe sufficient distresse to be had & found in & upon they sayd lande wythin twelve dayes next after any of they feasts and dayes it oughe to be payed at the sayd Rente and Rents w^h th'arreragies thearof if eny be lawfullie demaundyd & askyd Than it shalbe lawfull to & for the sayed mayre that tyme beyng his brether cominaltie they^r successo^rs & assignes to reentre & the same lands w'h thapp'tunce & other theye p.misse have agane & repossede as in they^r form^r eastate this dede indentid or eny thyng thearein conteigned to the contrarie in eny wyse not wythstandyng: and the said Rauff Sekerston mayre his brether cominaltie successo^rs & assignes they sayd lands and othey they p.misses wyth thapp'tn'nce unto the sayd Thomas his heyre & assignes in man^r & fourme as is afore spe'ied agaynst al folkis shall awarand & defende by thiese p.sents for ever. And furthermore knowe the sayd Rauff Sekerston mayre hys brether & cominaltie to have constituted ordeyned and in they^r place have putt they^r faythfull in Christ Ric' Hannson & John Heygh their lawfull attorneys in to the sayd lands & other they p.miss wyth thapp'rtn'nce to entre for theyme & in theyr name & thearin to take possession & seasyn fullie and peaceablie: And the full & peaceable possession & season thearof soe takyn to gyve & deliv^r unto the sayd Thomas Secom or his certen attorney to have & to hold to the same Thomas Secom his heyrs & assigns for ev^r accordyng to the streng^t fourme and effecte of this p.nte dede to hym theareof made and for thaccomplishment & true p.fourmac'on of all and singler they p'miss' as well upon the oone p.tie as upon the other before in this present dede indentid expressed & specified they sayd pties & ayther of theyme stand bounden to the other by this one p'nte dede in the somme of fyſtie pounds of gud and leafull money of England. In wytteness whereof to the one p.tie of thiese p.sents Remagnyng wyth the sayd Thomas Secom his heyrs and assignes the sayd Rauff Sekerston mayre his brether & cominaltie have affixed and putt the common scalle of the sayd borough & portteowne of liv'pole aforesayd yevyn the daye & yere first above expressd and specified."*

* This is printed from a transcript, by a gentleman connected with the British Museum. In the absence of types to indicate the contractions, they have been represented approximately by the ordinary marks.

A fragment of a seal of red wax is appended, being a portion of the common seal of the town of Liverpool, bearing the impress of a bird with a part of the legend.....COM.....and beneath, *apparently* upon a scroll issuing from the bird's beak, IOH** This is the third document discovered by Mr. Mayer having the ancient seal of the corporation appended, all of which were supposed to have beendestroyed or lost.

Mr. Mayer mentioned that he had received a communication from Thomas Tobin, Esq., of Ballincollig, near Cork, one of the Members of the Society. Mr. Tobin stated that he was clearing out the rubbish from the old castle at Ballincollig, and adopting other means for its careful preservation.

PAPERS.

I.—An Account of Warrington Siege, A.D. 1643; and of some Manuscripts of that Period recently discovered at Houghton Green, near Warrington,

By James Kendrick, M.D.

The following narrative of local history has been prompted by the recent discovery at Houghton-Green, near Warrington, of a number of original manuscripts, so closely connected with the military transactions in this part of our county, during the Civil War between Charles the First and his parliament, as to come peculiarly under the province of this Society for notice. They consist almost entirely of *warrants or precepts* for the supply of forage, provisions, and money to the troops of the party in power, alternately Royalist and Parliamentarian. A few only of the documents are in a complete state of preservation; the remainder have suffered much from the attacks of mice or insects, but about thirty can without difficulty be deciphered. The whole were discovered in the month of May last, in the roof of an ancient farm-house at Houghton-Green, a hamlet about two miles distant from Warrington. In one of the rooms on the chamber floor of the house in question, was a walled-up cavity, apparently intended for concealment, and in the thatch immediately covering this the manuscripts were found, tied together with a piece of cord. The house appears to have formerly been the residence of Thomas Sargeant, who in 1640 was constable of Houghton, and at a subseqent period served the same office for Southworth with Croft adjacent In all probability, the varying occupation of the district by Parliamentarians and Royalists, led to his wary concealment in the thatch of his house, of these evidences of his implication with the Royalist cause.*

* The annexed Plate is a representation of the house at Houghton Green. The letter (A) shews the situation of the cavity in which the *documents* were found.

The members of this Society are necessarily unacquainted with many of the localities to which I shall have occasion to refer. This will be sufficient apology for my offering to their notice a few illustrative sketches, taken on the spot. By their means I hope to present the subject more definitely than I could do without their assistance.

It would be impossible in the course of a short paper, to read the whole of the documents now brought to light. I have, therefore to the best of my ability transcribed them, and offer the copy to the Society for acceptance.* A few I shall read at length, with a view of rendering more complete the immediate object of my present paper, which is to produce all the information which I have been able to collect on

WARRINGTON SIEGE, A.D. 1643.

At the outset of the Civil War, (January, 1641—42) when King Charles the First withdrew from his Parliament and repaired to York, the eyes of his Council were directed to Warrington, in the county of Lancaster, as the most fitting rallying-point for the royalist adherents. It was therefore selected as the spot where the first open declaration of war, the raising of the King's standard, should take place; and that "all but royal subject" James, Lord Strange, (shortly afterwards by the death of his father, seventh Earl of Derby,) was dispatched to Warrington, as the centre of the loyal counties of York, Cumberland, Westmoreland, Chester, Lancaster, Salop, and Nottingham, and of North Wales. The Earl is said to have speedily raised twenty thousand men, well armed and loyal to their Sovereign. But enemies amongst the courtiers who remained with the King at York, poisoned the ear of his Majesty with unjust suspicions of his lordship's truth and loyalty, and this led to the royal standard being first displayed at Nottingham, on the 22nd of August 1642.

The Earl of Derby, however, still made Warrington his head quarters, and it was from thence that on the 24th of September following, he led 4000 foot, 200 dragoons, 100 horsemen, and 7 pieces of ordnance to the siege of Manchester, then a stronghold of the Parliament. It is well-known that his attempt was unsuccessful. Leading his discomfited forces to join the King at Shrewsbury, they formed part of the Royalist army at the battle of Edge-Hill on the 23rd of October following. The Earl him-

* At the close of this Paper will be found an *abstract* of the documents.

self had unwillingly returned to Warrington, to raise, at his own expense, new levies; and with these in the early part of November he laid siege to Birmingham, but again unsuccessful, the end of the month finds him with his troops in garrison at Warrington.

It was here, and about this period, that the Earl of Derby returned an indignant refusal to the tempting offers of the Parliament, that if his Lordship would engage in their good cause, he should have command equal to his own greatness, or any of his ancestors. "The purport of these letters," says the historian* of the 'House of Stanley' "raised a greater indignation in his lordship than all the slights and indignations he had received at court, whereupon he vouchsafed them no other answer than that he gave to the Colonel who brought the message—'Pray tell the gentlemen at Manchester, and let them tell the gentlemen at London, that when they hear I turn traitor, I shall hearken to their proposition, till then if I receive any other papers of this nature, it shall be at the peril of him who brings them.'"

The Earl of Derby, during his sojourn at Warrington, is traditionally said to have occupied a low thatched house on the south side of Church Street. It is still standing, and known as "The Earl's Lodgings," and I have reason to believe is the identical "Norris Tenement" bequeathed in 1621 by William, sixth earl of Derby, for the keeping in repair† of Warrington Bridge.‡

The Letter of Thomas Jesland, of Atherton, in Lancashire, to a Rev. Divine in London, under date of the 2nd of December, 1642,§ says, "The Lord Strange, now Earle of *Derbie*, is the great ringleader of the Popish faction and Malignant partie and keepes his rendezvous at *Warrington*, whither great multitudes of ill-affected people both out of *Lancashire* and *Cheshire* doe daily resort, it lying upon the frontiers of both. They make daily great spoile in the country, which hath now awakened, and so incensed them, that they are, tide-death tide-life, resolved to endure it no longer."

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* John Seacome, house-steward to William, ninth earl of Derby.

† See Dr. Kuerden's MSS. in the Chetham College Library, Manchester, vol ii p. 607.

‡ On the opposite side of Church Street is another ancient edifice, now converted into a tavern, and known as the "General Wolfe," prior to which it bore the sign of the "Spotted Leopard." It still, however, retains its name of "Cromwell's Lodgings;" and here the future Protector is traditionally said to have resided for three days, when in August, 1648, he was in pursuit of the Scots army under the Duke of Hamilton. At Warrington he captured all their foot, to the number of 4000, which had been deserted by the cavalry. It is further asserted, and with every probability of truth, that Cromwell attended divine worship at the ancient Dissenting (Baptist) Chapel at Hill-Cliff, a mile and a half distant from Warrington, and that one of his soldiers occupied the pulpit upon this occasion. (*See the accompanying Plate.*)

§ See Ormerod's "*Civil War Tracts of Lancashire*," (Chetham Society's Transactions, vol. ii. p. 63.)

he close of the letter, Jesland states that "it is reported by some about Earle of Derbie, that he is very melancholy and much perplexed about unadvized course that he hath run, for the last Thursday* at Warring-, at dinner, he said he was born under an unfortunate planet, and that thought some evill Constellation reigned at the time of his birth, with ny such other words of passion and discontent."

But although harassed, and depressed in mind by his ill success at nchester and at Birmingham, and perhaps most of all by the unkind d undeserved mistrust of his Sovereign, the Earl of Derby was not the s zealous in the cause of his royal master. During the winter months 1642–43 we find him personally engaged, and with somewhat better rtune, in the capture of Blackburn, Lancaster, and Preston. From Bolton, is true, he was twice repulsed, and suffered an inglorious defeat at Lowton, ut we cannot feel surprise at these reverses, if the Earl's military *materiel* ere not more efficient than the following extract from a Puritan pamphlet† f the time would lead us to imagine. "We" (the Parliamentarians,) "have ortified Northwich with trenches, sconces, &c. for the securitie of all those parts which have been much infested by the Commission of Array, and the Ea. of Darbie's forces at Warrington; and we have often sallied out for the clearing of those parts which were most in danger. One place above others hath been extremely assaulted, Mr. Brookes of Norton, a neere neighbour to the Ea. Rivers, against which they brought their cannon, with many horse and foot, and fell to batter it on a Sabbath day. Mr. Brooke had 80 men in the house; we were careful he should lack no powder; with all other things master Brooke furnished them fully. A man upon his tower, with a flag in his hand, cryede them aime whilst they discharged their cannon, saying 'wide, my lord on the right hand;—now wide two yards on the left; —two yards over, my lord, &c.' He made them swell for anger, when they could not endanger the house, for they only wounded one man, lost 46 of their owne, and their canonier; then in divelish rage they burnt a barne, and corn worth (as it is valued) a thousand pound, set fire to another, but more execution was made on the man that attempted it, than the barne, for he was blinded in fireing the barne, and so found wandering in the fields, and confest he had five pound given him for his service. After this they

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* This would fall on November 24th, 1642.

† "Cheshire's Successe, London, March 25, 1642," reprinted in Ormerod's "History of Cheshire, vol. i. p. xxxvii.

plundered Mr Brooke's tenants, and returned home with shame and hatred of all the country."

During the same winter (1642–43), the Earl of Derby is said to have strongly fortified the town of Warrington, but in what its military defences consisted we have no record. In a Puritan tract entitled "Manchester's Joy for Derbie's Overthrow, 1643," it is styled "a town of great strength:"—the "outer walls" of the town are expressly mentioned by Edward Burghall in his Diary entitled "Providence improved"*—and Mr Ormerod in his "Civil War Tracts," already referred to, speaks of mud walls being thrown up at Warrington, as at Manchester, Bolton, Liverpool, and Lancaster. Moreover, one of the *precepts* found at Houghton Green, requires the attendance of six carts with horses and drivers, and of ten able bodied men with spades, for the repair of the works of Warrington garrison, after the Siege which is the subject of our present enquiry. They cannot, however, have been of great extent, since they have left no obvious remains to the present day.

But be this as it may, the possession of Warrington was considered of such importance by Sir William Brereton,† one of the most successful of the Parliamentarian leaders, that in the spring of 1643, being at Northwich, in Cheshire, he requested Col. Assheton‡ to send him 500 of the Manchester forces from Wigan to aid his own troops in gaining the town of Warrington from the Earl of Derby. On the morning of Easter Monday, the 3rd of April, a small advanced body of Brereton's forces, under the command of Captain John Arderne, of Alvanley, approached the town on the Cheshire side. The Earl of Derby, perceiving that their force was small, at once sallied out to attack them, and encountering them on Stockton Heath, about a mile to the south of Warrington, a severe engagement took place, in which many of the Parliamentarians fell. The timely arrival of Sir William Brereton, with the remainder of his forces, alone prevented a total rout, for the Earl judged it best to draw off his troops, retiring to the town

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* Edward Burghall was Vicar of Acton, near Nantwich, Cheshire. A manuscript copy of his Diary "*Providence Improved*," 36 pages folio, is in the British Museum, (Add. MSS. 5851, p. 116.) and from this the quotations made use of in this paper have been carefully copied.

† Sir William Brereton, of Honford, Cheshire, baronet; a deputy lieutenant for the County of Lancaster.

‡ Colonel Ralph Assheton, of Middleton, Lancashire. He had captured Wigan in conjunction with Sir John Seaton, on the Saturday previous, April 1st.

with many prisoners, and several of the enemy's colours. Under the guise of these colours the Earl contrived at four o clock in the afternoon of the same day, to push forward a considerable body of his men, who crossing the Mersey at the ancient Ford at Lachford, *(See the adjoining Plan,)* advanced, by the route of Ackers Common, unsuspectedly upon the right flank of the Cheshire troops, and he himself leaving the town by the bridge and causeway at Wilderspool, assaulted them so furiously in front, that with trifling loss on his own part, he completely routed them, as the account states "with greate slaughter and little labor."

It is traditional that such of the Puritans as fell in the battle of Stockton Heath, many in number, were interred in the burial-ground of the Chapel, already alluded to at Hill-Cliff. Others, probably disaffected Churchmen, were buried at Budworth, five miles south of Stockton Heath, as we find in the register of burials there, the following entries.—

1643. *Aprill* 6. *Thomas ffirth de Barnton gardianus qui apud Stockton Heath in prœlio occisus fuit tertio die mensis Aprilis & sepul. sexto die Aprilis.*

6. *Johannes Ameris de Barnton constabularius qui prœlio eodem die & loco & sepult. sexto die ejusdem Aprilis.*

16. *Thomas fil. Thomœ Yewley sepul. decimo sexto die Aprilis.*

20. *Thomas Yewley de Aston qui periit ob vulneribus acceptis apud Stockton Heath tertio die Aprilis sepult. vicesimo die ejusdem mensis.*

22. *Ricardus Ridgway de Budworth qui periit apud Stockton Heath tertio die.*

In connection with the period we are now considering, another interesting tradition is current amongst the congregation who worship at Hill-cliff Chapel. It runs thus :—That during the Civil War, a man and his wife, members of their congregation, suffered martyrdom (implying, I presume, for their religious tenets,) by order of "a person high in authority at Warrington." I have not yet been successful in finding any written record of this occurrence, but it is singularly in accordance with a passage in "Lancashire's Valley of Achor,"* printed in the same year (1643), in which it is stated that the Royalists at Warrington killed "a godly man and his wife in their own house," which was in the adjacent country.

Notwithstanding the severe defeat sustained by Sir William Brereton at

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* Reprinted in Ormerod's "Civil War Tracts," (*Cheth. Soc.*) p. 138.

Stockton Heath on the 3rd of April, he appears still to have remained in the neighbourhood of Warrington, for on the Wednesday following (April 5th) we find him effecting a junction on the Lancashire side of the Mersey* with the expected troops from Wigan, as I believe, under the command of Colonel Richard Holland of Heaton. At 4 p.m. on this day the conjoined forces, in the description of Burghall, "beset the Town about, and fiercely assaulted it, having gotten Sankey Bridge, a fair House of one Mr. Bridgman's, and some of the outer Walls, and within a short space of Time were likely to have the whole; which the Earle perceaving set the middle of the Town on Fire, protesting hee would burn it all ere they should have it; which the Parliament Forces perceaving (seeing the Fire still increasing,) to save it from utter desolation withdrew their Forces after they had been there 3 dayes and more, and so departed for that time." I may remark in passing that the "fair House of one Mr. Bridgman's" mentioned in the above extract is still standing, though degraded to the rank of a tavern, the "Black Horse," at Sankey Bridges, about a mile from the town. The initials and a date, "R. B. 1632," are still visible on an oak beam in the front of the house.—(*See the adjoining Plate.*) Its occupant at the time of the Seige of Warrington was Edward Bridgman, a royalist, who in 1647 compounded with the Parliament for his estate by a fine of one hundred pounds.

There are several other sources of information relative to this first assault upon Warrington,† but as the second volume of the Chetham Society's Transactions has rendered them of easy reference, I shall introduce one

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* At what point Sir William Brereton crossed the Mersey upon this occasion is matter of conjecture. There is no ford westward of Warrington except Hale, and this was probably the route taken. He was certainly acquainted with it, and aware of its importance in a military view, for in May, 1645, when the Royalists under Rupert and Maurice had reached Whitchurch on their way to attack Liverpool, he thus writes to the Parliamentary commanders at Warrington:—"*Gentlemen,—I am very glad to heare that you have taken soe good course to secure Hale Ford and Ronchorne, wch. I conceive must be by casting up some sconces, yt I believe may doe. Ye enemy I am assured is at Whitchurch &c. &c.*"

† See "Mercurius Aulicus," a royalist newspaper published at Oxford 1642-45.—"Manchester's Joy for Derbie's Overthrow, 1643."—"Lancashire's Valley of Achor is England's Doore of Hope, 1643."—Colonel John Rosworm's "Good Service hitherto ill rewarded, 1649." With the exception of the first, from which extracts only are given, the whole are reprinted in Mr. Ormerod's "Civil War Tracts." Of the last it may be necessary to state that Mr. Robson, of Warrington, in the 21st vol. of the "Gentleman's Magazine," has clearly identified the narrative of proceedings which succeeded the capture of Wigan with those which occurred *at the first assault upon Warrington, and not upon Bolton*, as Rosworm assigns them, "to the best my remembrance."

only in consequence of its not being reprinted in detail. It is to be found in "Vicars' Parliamentary Chronicle," (Brit. Museum) part i., p. 297:—"Much also about the same time, namely the 8 or 10 of this Aprill (1643) lettors out of Lancashire for certain informed that the Erl of Darby that grand and gracelesse patron of Papists in that county, whose forces then were about 1400, at least, in Wiggon in Lancashire, the only or main place of receipt for the Papists treasure and goods, that he was, I say, most soundly beaten by that pious and valiant Commander Colonell Sr. John Seaton and his brave Manchestrians, together with the honest club men of those parts, and that in the fight at this Town, they took about 800 prisoners, 500 more were quite routed, above 1000 armes taken besides ordnance, and other ammunition, treasure, and goods of the Papists, to the value of at least 20000 li. Besides that, the honest-hearted and most courageous Manchestrians (who indeed are the principall men in the kingdome, next to the most famous and renowned Citie of London, that fight most prosperously for God and true religion) with their valiant and faithfull *Germane* Engineer,* rested not thus, but marched on to *Warrington*, a place also of good strength and great resort, which good Town (after a brave and most valiant fight) they also tooke, beat the Papists in the Town, Church and Steple, where they were strongly enclosed, and environed round, and made some batterie against the Church, and make no doubt (by God's assistance) to be masters of it sodainly, and by God's blessing to put an end to the *Lancashire* distractions, especially if the Earl of Derbie himself be there, as it is supposed." In this last conjecture, however, the journalist was premature, for we have sufficient proof that the Earl succeeded in repelling his assailants.

Shortly after the retreat of the Parliamentarian forces, the Earl of Derby appears to have left Warrington. We find him suffering a defeat at Whalley, in Lancashire, on the 20th of April, from whence he retired to his seat of Lathom House, and thence into Yorkshire, where he joined the Queen. The charge of the royalist garrison at Warrington, which was still an object of desire to the leaders of the Parliament, devolved upon Colonel Edward Norris,† and two original *precepts* issued by him, under the conviction that he was speedily to be the object of an attack, were found at Houghton Green.

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* Colonel John Rosworm, spoken of in the preceding note.

† The Colonel Edward Norris here mentioned was eldest son of William Norris of Speke, Lancashire. In No. III. of the Houghton Green documents he is addressed as "*Captain of the Trained Band for the hundred of West Derby.*" In the "Siege of Lathom" he is designated *Colonel* Norris, and this is the last mention of him in a military character. Mr. Heywood (*Cheth. Trans.* v. ix. *p.* 13) quotes a memorandum from the Sequestrator's books:—"Edward Norris of Speke, a Papist, * * * the above said estate was added to the book of surveighs, the 24th day of June 1652." He died in 1664.

No. X.*

"*Theis are in his Ma'ys name straitly to chardge and comand you and every of you that immediately upon receipt hereof you make diligent search w'thin yo'r Constablarie for p'vision of victualls and oates and hay for the Armie here. And the same forth'th to bringe or cause to be brought unto this towne of Warrington for reliefe of the souldiers, and storeinge the same towne in case any Seige be laid thereunto by the enemie. And hereof faile not at yo'r p'll. Given under my hand this third day of May. Anno Dni* 1643.

To the Constables of Southworth Middleton Houghton Arbury & Croft } E. NORRIS.

md. to bringe in noe bread, but wheate or meale instead thereof, or pease."

Endorsed on the back thus :—"*Southworth rec'd ye 4th day of May, at* 8 *of ye clocke in ye afternoone.*"

No. XI.

"*Whereas very lately I directed my warrants to severall parts neare adjacent for the calling in of all the able men unto our ayd but finding that the Enemy was retraited was very willing that the said men should return to their owne houses. but nowe soe it is that this day I have received intelligence by* 3 *severall messengers that the Enemy intends very speedily to assault us. Theis are therefore in his Ma't's name straitly to Charg and Comand you that forthwith upon receit hereof you give notice and warning to all the able men w'thin yo'r severall Constableries that are w'thin the age of* 60 *yeares and above the age of* 16 *yeares that they come unto this towne of Warrington with their best armes and p'vision of meate for* 4 *dayes by* 9 *of the clocke.....beinge the* 15*th daye of this instant May; wherein you are not to faile as you honor his Ma'ties service and will answer the contrarie at yo'r utmost p'ille. given under my hand the* 14*th daye of May* 1643.

To the Constables of Hulme, & Winwick, & all the other Constables w'thin the p'ishe of Winwick, and to every of them greeting. } E. NORRIS.

Se you send me an accompt of this warrant."

Endorsed on the back as follows :—

"*Seene & p'suned* (sic) *by the Cunstables of Winwick & hulme.*

Seene & p'used by the Constable of Newton.

Seene & p'used by the Con'bles of haidoke, and speedilye sent away to the Con'bles of Golborne.

Seene & p'used by the Constable of Goulborne the 15*th day between* 3 *&* 4 *of the clocke in the afternoone and speedilye sent unto Loton.*

Seene by the Constable of Lawton about 7 *of ye clocke ye* 15 *day and sent to Kenion with speede.*

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* By referring to the *abstract* at the end of this Paper, it will be seen that the earlier numbers have no immediate reference to "Warrington Siege."

Seene & p'used by the Constable of Kenyon.
Seene & p'used by the Constables of Culchet and sent away.
Seene & p'used by the Constables of Southworth cn Croft and Middleton Houghton cn Arbury & sent away with al speed."

The expectation of Colonel Norris that he was shortly to be the object of an attack by the Parliamentary forces was realised within a few days of the date of his last *precept*. Burghall says,* "at this time Coll. *Brereton* & all his Horse were at *Stafford*, from whence they returned to *Namptwich*, & some considerable Forces out of *Cheshire* marched forth to meet the Forces of *Manchester* at *Warrington*, which happened to be on Whitsunday, May 21. On Monday morning they planted their ordinances and beset the Town round about, played upon it all that week, it being strongly fortified, & the Souldiers behaving themselves very bravely. But Bread & other Necessaries being scarce, upon Saturday they came to a Parley, when it was agreed upon That the Town should be rendered up, & that some Capts. & Comanders should depart with every man his Horse and Pistols, and all the Souldiers to pack away unarmed, and leave all their arms, amunition and Provision behind them, which was done accordingly.

"And upon Trinity Sunday, Sir *George Booth*,† being lord of the Town, entred it, where he was joyfully entertained by the Inhabitants. There were slain on the Parliament side only 4, & 2 of the Town, wherein the mercy of God appeared."

From a contemporary source‡ we learn that the Siege of Warrington was upon this occasion allotted to Colonel Assheton, of Middleton, one of the most active and successful soldiers of the Parliament. His regiment leaving Manchester on Saturday the 20th of May, 1643, appears to have been joined on its route by the Cheshire forces under Sir George Booth of Dunham-Massey, and to have reached Warrington on the day following. On Monday the assault began, lasting until Saturday, May 27th, when the capitulation took place,‖ followed by the formal entry of Sir George Booth

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* "Providence Improved," spoken of in a former Note.

† Of Dunham-Massey, in Cheshire. His father had purchased the manor of Warrington in 1628 from Thomas Ireland, of Bewsey. At the period of which we are treating he was in his 77th year.

‡ See "Exceeding Joyfull News out of Lancashire &c, being a True Relation of the Parliament Forces taking the Townes of Warrington and Whitechurch, &c. &c. London, 1643" reprinted in Mr Ormerod's "Civil War Tracts." Mr Robson (Gentleman's Magazine, vol. xxi.) has shewn that the passage in this Tract considered to refer to Liverpool, in reality applies to Warrington.

‖ From the extract which follows it would appear that the Church and Steeple were gained at least one day before the Town itself.

on Sunday, May the 28th. During the siege one or two marvellous incidents are recorded in "Lancashire's Valley of Achor"* with the characteristic extravagance of a Puritan historian.

"All this while the cry of oppressed *Warrington* importuned heaven, and compassion wrought in us, and having this far-fetched terrifying assistance,† we entered upon a new and prosperous Voyage the twentieth day of *May:* The three and twentieth of *May* was designed for Fasting and Prayer in Manchester, to meet with the beginning of the enterprize against *Warrington.*

"Whilst the duty was in performing, tidings came of the taking of *Winwick* Church and Steeple, they on the steeple standing on terms, till God sent a deadly messenger out of a fowling-Piece to one of them; also a strong Hall ‡ possessed by professed Romane Catholikes, and stored with Provisions, as if it had been purposely laid in, both for our supply and ease.

"In this *Warrington* Siege so good a friend was God to our faith, that the greatest *Peece* was made unusefull the second time it was in use, and without the terrour of those Idols, the living God gave us the Church and Steeple the 26 of *May*, and that strong Hold upon termes, *May* 28.

"A Providence much to be observed in this Siege was this: One night our men were to work within half musket shot of the Town: It was a great calme, that they could not work, but the enemy would hear: when some went to worke others went to prayers; and God raised a great winde, that took away the noise: a Providence not altogether unlike what I have heard in *Boston*: The Chancellor gave organs to *Boston*; before they breath in that new world, the well-affected pray: after their prayers, a mighty winde forceth its passage into the Church, blows down the organs, brake them and stopt their breath.‖

"That which ripened the enemies ruine, was their hard usage of prisoners, and well-affected in the Town, their extreme cruelty in the country, killing a godly man and his wife in their own house, and their professed confidence and pride in their strong Hold, appearing by their hanging out a Flag of Defiance upon the highest chimney.

".....Some recompence God made to tyred Warrington in the shortnesse of the Siege, and security from spoyle, which we charitably made an article of our Peace."

The episode at Winwick Church§ affords me an opportunity of introduc-

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* Reprinted in Ormerod's "Civil War Tracts."

† Six pieces of ordnance, part of those brought to Manchester from Lancaster.

‡ Probably Southworth Hall, one mile east of Winwick Church.

‖ It is well known that amongst the early Puritans all instruments of Music for religious purposes were held in abhorence. The *Organ* was especially an object of hatred and derision, and as such was designated by them *"a box of whistles."*

§ Mr Ormerod (Civil War Tracts) assigns the 23rd of May for the attack on Winwick Church, but as its capture, according to the above quotation, was announced and acknowledged in prayers at Manchester on that day, it probably took place on the 22nd.

ing another of the documents found at Houghton-Green. It is a *precept* issued apparently by a Committee of Lancashire deputy-lieutenants, sitting at Winwick, or at Bewsey Hall,* near Warrington.

No. XII.

"*These are to will and require & immediately to charge and command you that immediately upon the receipt hereof you summon & require all men and others of ability w'thin your townes to come & appear before us at Winwick upon Fryday next being the 26th. of aye..... clock in the afforenoone to lend & contribute money..... if they will avoid.....of their estats and securinge of their persons .....able men furnished with spads & mattocks & 3 days provisions.....for such service for the.....as shall be appointed them. And further that you gather in y'r.....vittuals for p'vision of our Armie & bringe it & the.....in to morrowe morninge to Beusy hall as you will answer the contrary at your ottermost p'ill.*

Given under our hands this 24th of May 1643.

Constables of Southworth cu Croft.

T. Stanley†
Richard (*Holland ?*)
Peter Egerton
John Houlcrofte

The battery of the Parliamentarians in the Siege of Warrington was beyond doubt placed on the Moot-Hill near the parish church, which tradition asserts was raised higher than its former level for this express purpose.‡ A recent excavation of the hill has strongly confirmed this idea. Amongst other curiosities of an earlier period which have thus been brought to light, are a few which may be referred to the time of the Civil War, and the Siege in 1643. Of these the most remarkable are portions of horses' trappings, the hilt of a sword, and an ancient military spur. Traces of cannon-shot are still visible on the eastern end of the chancel of the church, and to the same cause may be attributed the shattered condition of the tracery of the east window, rendering its removal a few years since necessary. The stained glass, rich and very ancient, both here and in the Boteler

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* Bewsey Hall, one mile west of Warrington, was at this time the property of Sir Gilbert Ireland, a parliamentarian, and Lancashire deputy lieutenant. His chief residence, however, was at Hale, twelve miles west of Warrington.

† Sir Thomas Stanley, of Bickerstaff, Bart:—Richard (*Holland*, of Heaton?):—Peter Egerton, of Shaw: and John Holcroft, of Holcroft esquires, deputy-lieutenants of Lancashire, for the Parliament.

‡ From its distance within half musket shot of the town, we may venture to suppose the Moot-Hill the precise locality where the besieging soldiers were labouring when there arose the marvellous "*greate winde, that tooke away the noise.*"

Chapel, was at the same time wholly destroyed, as we find a minute of a Vestry Meeting in the year 1647, in which the glass of the windows is ordered to be replaced, and other repairs of the church to be undertaken, since it was then *"far decayed in respect of the long disasters."*

In conclusion I may remark that the surrender of the town of Warrington by Colonel Norris was expedited by intelligence of the surprise, defeat, and capture of Lord Goring at Wakefield by General Fairfax on the 21st of May. It was followed by a summons to all the Earl of Derby's Lancashire forces to join the Queen at York, and the vanquished garrison of Warrington doubtless joined the retreating body.

NOTE.—Since the foregoing Paper was read before the members of the Historic Society, I have received several transcripts from the "*King's Collection*" in the British Museum, referring to Warrington subsequent to the period of its surrender to the Parliament. These, in conjunction with the remaining portion of the documents found at Houghton Green, I may at a future time, if the Society deem the subject worthy of their notice, embody in a further historical narrative under the title of "*Warrington as a garrison for the Parliament.*"

Along with these I have received the following extract from "Vicars' Parliamentary Chronicle, part i, page 341," which as it has not hitherto been reprinted, and yet contains some incidental particulars connected with "*Warrington Siege*", I may perhaps be excused for introducing in the form of a concluding note:—

"About the beginning of June (1643) came credible and certain information to London out of Lancashire, that the most noble and renouned *Manchesterian Christians*, have taken and fully possessed themselves of the good and strong town in Lancashire, called Warrington, being the last Hold of considerable strength and consequence that the Papists had in all that county: and that now the whole county is fairly purged of those pestilent members that had so infected and infested that countie formerly, and that now it stands wholly for the King and Parliament: And that now they have bravely secured the chief towns and places which the enemy had either had, or were in any danger of them. Those that speak with the least assure, that these noble Manchesterians took at least six hundred prisoners in the winning of the said Warrington, and eight pieces of ordnance, and that now they will be able to spare and send to the most renounced and faithful Lord Fairfax some considerable strength of their Manchester forces for the assistance of their honest friends in the West Riding of Yorkshire."

And here by the way, I desire the Reader to take notice of this further passage of moment, confirmed also by certain intelligence from those parts, namely, "That the Lord Capell (that Court Summer-flea who hath so leapt and skipt up and down to no purpose, God be praised for it,) sent a messenger to assure those in Warrington (while they were beseiged) that if they could hold out but to such a day, he would come to their reliefe, and raise theire seige, but the messenger was apprehended by the way, by Namptwich forces, who thereby understanding of the advance of the aforesaid Lord Capell for that purpose, made out with all speed to White Church, and sodainly surprised that Town, slue about an hundred and fiftie malignants, took forty prisoners, some of them men of eminencie and good worth, took five hundred armes besides Ammunition of Powder, and Bullets and Match, and manned and fortified the town bravely for the King and Parliament, and so wiped the Lord Capell's nose both of his poore expectation of relieving Warrington, and hereby also sent him to seek another lodging where he could get it: by this losse of White Church unto noble and victorious Sir William Breuerton and his valiant forces of Namptwich."

APPENDIX.

AN ABSTRACT OF THE CIVIL WAR DOCUMENTS FOUND AT HOUGHTON GREEN, NEAR WARRINGTON, IN MAY, 1851.

I.—A *Petition* from the Inhabitants of Southworth & Croft, Midleton, Houghton and Arbury to Captain Coney (*of Ditton, Lancashire*) complaining that Captain Holcroft of Holcroft had favoured the township of Culcheth by imposing upon Southworth &c. an unfair proportion of men for the train-band.

II.—A similar *Petition* to Mr. William Alcock (*of Prescot, Lancashire*).

III.—A *Report* upon the above *Petition* by Mr. Alcock to Edward Norris, esquire, Captain of the trainband for the hundred of West Derby, disclaiming his connection with the above unfair imposition. Dated at Prescott Jan. 6 1642.

IV.—A *Precept* signed "*Richard Astley*" to the constables of Southworth & Croft, Middleton & Arbury, in pursuance of a precept from Henry Ogle esquire, (*of Whiston, Lancashire,*) directing an assessment to raise £21. 15. 0. imposed upon those townships. Dated 14 Jan. 1642.

V.—A *Precept* from Sir Gilbert Hoghton to the constables of Houghton cu Middleton, commanding them to summon all the able men of the township, between the ages of 16 and 60, to appear with their best arms on the 13th of February following at Wigan. Dated at Wigan 10 Feb. 1642.

VI.—A *Precept* signed "*Richard Asby*" under the authority of a warrant from James, earl of Derby, addressed to the petty constables in the several townships of the parish of Winwick, requiring them, in consequence of the non-payment of the various assessments imposed upon the county, to give warning to four sufficient men in each township to appear before the earl of Derby on the 27th of February following, at the house of Hugh Lathom in Ormskirk. Dated 25 Feb. 1642.

VII.—A *Precept* signed "*Richard Astley,*" under the authority of a warrant from the earl of Derby, to the petty constables of the several townships of Culcheth, Southworth cu Croft, Middleton & Arbury, ordering an assessment to raise £65. 5. 0, to be paid upon the 14th of March following at the house of Hugh Lathom in Ormskirk. Dated 9 Mar. 1642.

VIII.—A *Precept* signed "*R. Molyneux,*" to the constables of Southworth & Croft, Midleton, Houghton & Arburie, requiring them at sight thereof, to bring into the town of Newton (*Lancash:*) 20 bushels oats, 104 stone of hay, 5 *threave* of straw, and £2. 10. 8. in money "*for my lord mollinex.*" Dated at Newton 23 Apr. 1643.

IX.—A *private note*, without date, intimating that "*lord muleynex's*" precept to Culcheth demanded 30 bushels of oats, 180 stone of hay, and £4. 10. 0. in money.

X.—A *Precept* from Colonel Edward Norriss. (*Given at length in the preceding Paper*).

XI.—Another *Precept* from the same. (*Given at length with the last*).

XII.—A *Precept* from Sir Thomas Stanley, and Richard (*Holland?*), Peter Egerton, and John Houlcrofte, esquires. (*Given at length with the two preceding*).

XIII.—A *Precept* from Sir Thomas Stanley, and Peter Egerton and John Houlcrofte, esquires, to the constables of Southworth, Croft, &c. ordering an assessment on the township for £10 in pursuance of an order from the deputy-lieutenants of Lancashire, "*for paying of souldiers, and necessary defence of the same* (county) *in theis dangerous & distracted tymes.*" Dated at Warrington 11 July 1643.

XIV.—A *Precept* from Colonel John Booth, governor of Warrington, and Peter Egerton, esquire, to the constables of * * * Houghton & Arbury, requiring "*sixe good and able teames w'th Cartes & three horses in each Carte, together with an able driver. And tenn sufficient and able workmen of bodie to worke w'th spads for the doinge & p'forminge of such service in an aboute the repayre of the workes belonginge to the s'd garrison as shall be severally Imposed on them.*" Dated at Warrington 14 Sep. 1643.

XV.—A *Receipt* from Richard Abraham, of Warrington, treasurer appointed to receive the sums imposed upon the townships, to Thomas Sargeant, constable, for monies received in Sep. Oct. and Dec. 1643. Dated at "Warrington Garrison."

XVI.—*A Petition* from Thomas Sargeant to the governor of Warrington for relief from further serving the office of constable for Houghton, and that his next neighbour (apparently a female,) may be compelled according to ancient custom, "*to send her son or any other to give content to the towne and exacut the office of a constable.*" No date.

XVII.—An *Account* of monies paid for provision, forage, and cartage during a year by a constable, (Thomas Sargeant.) No date.

XVIII.—A *Power of Attorney* from Colonel John Booth, governor of Warrington, to enable Robert Burley, "*his servant, now resident in London,*" to receive £1000 from the Committee of Revenue, for the payment of soldiers in the garrison of Warrington. Dated 24 Nov. 1645.

XIX.—A *Precept* signed "Henry Byrom" to the constables of Winwick with Hulme, Newton, Culcheth, Southworth cu Croft, Middleton, Houghton & Arbury, ordering assessments, by virtue of an ordinance of parliament, to raise the sum of £45 within the said township. Dated 8 Feb. 1645.

XX.—The same to the same, for raising further sums of money Dated 14 Mar. 1645.

XXI.—A *Precept* signed "*Henry Byrom*" to the constables of Winwick & Hulme, Newton, Culcheth, Southworth, Croft, Hougton, Myddelton & Arbury, "*who have served from the beginning of the present parliament*, requiring them to bring in their accounts to be exhibited to the parliamentary commission, at the house of Geo. Woods in West Darbie, on Friday 24th of April, 1646. Dated 14 Apr. 1646.

XXII.—A *Precept* signed "Henry Byrom" to the constables of Southworth cu Croft, Middleton, Houghton & Arbury, requiring them by virtue of an order of the Committee of the County, dated Aprill 25, 1646 to present to the Committee for Sequestrations at Preston, returns to a series of questions respecting delinquents and their estates. Dated 25 April 1646.

XXIII.—The same to the same, with further questions. Same date.

XXIV.—A *Warrant* from Thomas Holcrofte to the constable of Houghton to bring to Warrington four persons therein named to provide a soldier under his command, or to serve in person. Dated 29 May, 1646.

XXV.—A *Warrant* from the same to the same, empowering him by virtue of Colonel Booth's order, to receive from Jane Robinson of Middleton, widow, the sum of 14d. towards the hiring of a soldier. In default of payment to distrain her goods. Dated 29 May 1646.

XXVI.—A *Certificate* from Will. Brocke that John Bordman of Houghton had deposited his musket with him at Warrington. No date.

XXVII—XLV. These documents are in a very dilapidated state. Fortunately they consist chiefly of *Constables' Accounts* and *Rates* for the different Townships mentioned in the foregoing Abstract, and possess comparatively little interest.

	Report of the Board of Health on the Parish of Havant, Hampshire.
Chas. Roach Smith, F.S.A.	Memoir on the European Colonization of America in Ante-Historic Times, by E. G. Squier, Esq.
Hugh Neill, F.R.A.S.	The Newspaper Press Directory for 1847.
James Kendrick, M.D.	A complete copy of the documents discovered in May, 1851, in taking down an old house at Houghton Green; illustrative of his paper read at the last meeting.

The following Articles were EXHIBITED :—

By Wm. Atherton, Esq.	Two silver figures found in an ancient burial ground of Indians near Lampa, in the department of Puno, in South America. Both figures are naked and about three inches long, with the hands together on the breast. The male has a cap on the head, but the female's cap seems composed of hair plaited, extending to the waist. Similar figures have been found in the graves of the Aborigines, in and about Cuzco, the former capital of Peru, along with the two-necked bottles, connected by a sort of handle, which were formerly thought to have been peculiar to South America, but which are now found in other countries and even in the tombs of the Egyptians. The figures shew a good knowledge of the art of working silver, and prove that a civilized race, perhaps one of Scandinavian origin, dwelt in the plains of Central America.
	A Tract, entitled "Arte de la Lengua Quichua, 1619.
By Dr. Hume.	Curious plaited cordage from the Fiji Islands.
	Vegetable chain from Fernando Po, manufactured by the "Boobies", in imitation of an English chain cable.
	Leg of an Emu from Australia.
	A curious hand-club from New Zealand.
	Two interesting specimens of modern drawing, manuscript printing, and emblazoning.
By Andrew J. Lamb, Esq.	A specimen of an antique tobacco pipe.

By C. B. Robinson, Esq. An earthen mug of early English pottery, covered with the old smear glaze, and ornamented with a rude design in colours. This mug has been kept in the family at Peel Hall, Cheshire, and is supposed to be the one used by William III. when staying at Peel, in 1690, on his way to Ireland.

By James Kendrick, M.D. A large loaf of "jannack" about eighteen inches in diameter and three inches thick. It is made of oatmeal, and leavened with a portion of the old dough. It was formerly much used by the middle and lower classes in Lancashire.

Miscellaneous Communications.

1. Mr. Brooke, F.S.A., exhibited a Prayer Book which had been used by a congregation of Protestant Dissenters, in Liverpool, usually called Octagonians, from their frequenting the Octagon Chapel, in Temple Court, on the site of which is now the Fire Police Station. "The congregation was peculiar in the circumstance of regularly using a prayer book, of which two or three of the prayers resembled those of the Church of England. The congregation was formed by some members from the Dissenters' Chapels in Key Street and Benn's Gardens, in Liverpool, who preferred the use of a printed book of Prayers and Psalms; and Divine Service was first celebrated in the Octagon Chapel, in 1763. It never had a very numerous body of frequenters. The congregation was broken up in 1776; and the last time that Divine Service was solemnized according to their form in it, was about the 25th of January, in that year, when the Rev. W. Clayton was the minister. The building was then purchased by the Rev. John Plumbe, a clergyman of the Church of England, and it was soon afterwards licenced for Divine Service, according to the rites of the Church of England, and called St. Catharine's Church; and it was afterwards purchased by the Corporation of Liverpool. It was in use as a church from the 25th of March, 1776, until the month of March, 1820, when, being out of repair, and standing in the way of the improvements of the town, it was pulled down by orders of the corporation, and the materials sold. The prayer book belonged to Mr. J. Wyke, a member of the congregation of Dissenters, from whom Wyke's Court, Dale Street, derived its name; and though now it appears to us a most objectionable part of the town to select for a residence, he had a house in which he lived, and what is still more remarkable, a tolerably sized garden there. The court has some years since been pulled down: and the site of the court, the house and the garden, is now covered by the buildings, &c., which were the old Gas Works. The clergymen who held St. Catherine's Church after the Rev. John Plumbe, were the Rev. — Wilmot; the Rev. Brownlow Forde, (afterwards Dr. Forde, the ordinary of Newgate); the Rev. R. K. Milner, and the Rev. Thomas Bold. The two last held it jointly."

2. "Mr. Brooke also exhibited a paper, published by the late Mr. Bryan Blundell, called 'Recollections of Liverpool,' and observed that, amongst other matters, it mentions the often repeated circumstance of eight bags of cotton, from the United States of America, having been detained by an officer of customs, at Liverpool, on the ground that cotton was not grown in the United States. Mr. Brooke stated that a misconception seemed to exist respecting that occurrence, and that much more had been said respecting it than it merited. It merely seems to amount to this: that a blundering and perhaps very young officer, who knew nothing about cotton, had temporarily detained it, (similar mistakes equally remarkable, occasionally occur even now, with respect to other articles,) but the matter appears to have been set to rights as soon as the result of his ignorance was known to his superior officers; and there is not any reason to believe that any reference was made to the Commissioners of Customs, to decide the important point,—whether cotton could be imported from the United States. Mr. Bryan Blundell has given the date of the occurence as 1784, and he was a very high authority, for at that date he was a young man living in Liverpool, and the circumstance was most likely to be retained in his memory, because he afterwards held the responsible office of Jerquer in the customs. Mr. Brooke also mentioned, that he had recently made enquiries on the subject, from his own father, who not only resided in Liverpool at that date, but had resided there from a period anterior to the American Declaration of Independence of 4th July, 1776, and who is yet living in his 91st year, and whose memory is still wonderfully clear. He states that the anecdote is a true one, and that his impression is, that the date given by Mr. Bryan Blundell is about correct, and that for some time after the close of the first American War, though some little cotton was imported into Liverpool from the United States, it was in very insignificant quantities. Mr. Bryan Blundell's account of the transaction is as follows:—'In 1784, an American vessel imported eight bags of cotton into Liverpool, which were seized by one of Her Majesty's officers of customs, as supposing they were not of the growth of America.' If they had not been grown in the United States, it is clear that by our Navigation Laws, they could not be legally imported in an American vessel, into Liverpool. Mr. Brooke added that, though the commerce had never been completely interrupted with the North American States, during the war, yet it probably was so far interrupted, that the blundering officer alluded to might not have heard that cotton had ever been grown there and imported from thence; especially as the peace with that country only took place the year before, (in 1783.) Mr. Brooke also stated, that so far from its importation from the United States being unprecedented, or unknown, prior to 1784, he was prepared to shew that before the first American War, cotton certainly was imported into Liverpool from the British States of North America, afterwards the United States; and also that the list of imports of goods into Liverpool, as long ago as in 1770, contains the particulars of several importations of cotton from thence into Liverpool."

3. Dr. Hume noticed that fifteen drinking bowls had been found amid the ruins of Babylon, similar to those exhibited by Mr. M'Quie, at the first meeting of the present session.

PAPERS.

I.—Account of the Grant of Free Warren, by Henry III., to Thomas Gresley, Sixth Baron of Manchester.

By John Harland, Esq.

Before proceeding to the immediate object of this paper, a brief definition of the terms "warren" and "free warren," both etymological and legal, may serve as general preface and introduction. "Warren," in Dutch *waerande*, but by us derived from the Norman French *Garren* or *Garenne*, implying a place kept, (from *garder*, to keep, to preserve), denotes either the franchise or incorporeal hereditament, or the place itself in which, by prescription or grant, the lord of the honour or manor is privileged to keep "beasts and fowl of warren," as hares, coneys, pheasants and partridges. To arrive at the origin of this feudal privilege, we must go back to the conquest. Flintoff, in his "Rise and Progress of the Laws of England and Wales," states that when William the Conqueror ascended the English throne,—claiming it in right of the will of Edward the Confessor, and not obtaining his title from a notion of conquest over the people, which he carefully disclaimed, but from the feudal meaning of the term "conquest," which signifies *acquest* or newly acquired feudal rights,*—he solemnly swore, in the 4th year of his reign, that he would observe the ancient and approved laws of the kingdom, particularly those of Edward the Confessor, and also ordered that twelve Saxons in each county should make inquiry, and certify what those laws were. Subsequently to this, it was solemnly ordained, in a general council, that the laws of Edward, with such alterations and additions as the Conqueror himself had made, should in all things be observed † Thus the system of Saxon or Anglo-British jurisprudence was confirmed as the law of this country; and thenceforth it formed the basis of the common law, upon which every subsequent alteration was to operate. These alterations, therefore, down to the end of the reign of Henry II., or the beginning of that of Richard I. formed, when

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* Even yet, *nova feuda*, or lands taken by purchase, are termed in the Scotch law, "feus of conquest."

† "Hoc quoque præcipimus ut omnes habeant et teneant leges Eduardi regis, in omnibus rebus, adauctis his quos constituimus ad utilitatem Anglorum.—Leg. Gul. Cong. sec. 28.

blended with the previously existing Saxon jurisprudence, the common law of England. Some of these alterations, however, were widely at variance with the letter and spirit of the older Saxon law. One of the most violent alterations of the ancient constitution consisted in the depopulation of whole counties for the purposes of the King's royal diversion; and subjecting both them, and all the ancient forests of the kingdom, to the unreasonable severities of forest laws imported from the Continent, whereby the slaughter of a beast was made almost as penal as the killing of a man. In Saxon times, though no man was allowed to kill or chase the King's deer, yet he might start any game, pursue and kill it, upon his own estate. But the rigour of these new constitutions vested the *sole property* of all the game in the King alone; and no man was entitled to disturb any fowl of the air, or any beast of the field, of such kinds as were specially reserved for the royal amusement of the Sovereign, without express license from the King, by a grant of a chase, or free warren; and those franchises were granted as much with a view to preserve the breed of animals, as to indulge the subject. Out of these now obsolete forest laws sprang the game laws of more modern times; and in one respect the ancient law was much less unreasonable than the modern; for the King's grantee of a chase or warren might kill game in every part of his franchise; but though, until the modification of the law some ten or twelve years ago, a freeholder of less than £100 a year was forbidden to kill a partridge upon his own estate; yet nobody else, (not even the lord of a manor, unless he had a grant of free warren) could do it without committing a trespass, and subjecting himself to an action.

In King John's time, and that of his son Henry III. the rigours of the feudal tenures and the forest laws were so strenuously enforced, that they occasioned many insurrections of the barons or principal feudatories; which at last had this effect, that first King John, and afterwards his son, consented to the two famous charters of English liberties, Magna Charta and Carta de Foresta. The former contained this remarkable clause:—

XLVIII. 39.—"All evil customs of forests and warrens, and of foresters and warreners, sheriffs and their officers, water-banks and their keepers, shall immediately be inquired into by 12 knights of the same county; and within 40 days after the inquisition is made, they shall be altogether destroyed by them, never to be restored; provided that this be notified to us before it be done, or to our justiciary, if we be not in England."

The Carta de Foresta was also well calculated to redress many grievances

and encroachments of the Crown, in the exercise of forest law. It is no part of our subject to notice these grievances and oppressions, of which perhaps the most graphic and striking exhibition is to be found in the Forest and Game Law Tales, of Miss Martineau. We return to the more strictly legal definition of Warren and Free Warren.

Scriven, in his work on Copyhold and other Tenures, (4th edition, 1846, vol. ii. p. 660 et seq.) says that "the franchise of free warren is to be claimed only by grants from the crown, or by prescription, which supposes such a grant; and the effect of it is to vest in the grantee a property in such wild animals or inferior species of game as are deemed the beasts and fowls of warren." He adds that "the grant of free warren would seem to give a right to appoint a warrener to preserve the game, who is justified by ancient usage, in killing dogs, cats and vermin."

Manwood, in his "Forest Laws" (cap. 1, sec. 5) says that "a forest is the highest franchise of noble and princely pleasure: next in degree unto it, is a liberty of a frank chase; the diversity between a park and a chase is, that a park is inclosed and a chase always open; the last in degree is the liberty of franchise of a free warren."

Blackstone in his Commentaries, (ed. of 1829) in the section on Real Property, chapter iii. "Incorporeal Hereditaments," (which he says are of ten sorts), includes in "franchises," the right to have a forest, chase, park, *warren*, or fishery, endowed with the privileges of royalty. A *forest* in th hands of a subject is properly the same thing with a chase, being subj to the common law and not to the forest laws. But a *chase* differs fr park in that it is not enclosed, and also in that a man may have a cha another man's ground as well as in his own; being indeed the liber keeping beasts of chase or royal game therein, protected even fr owner of the land, with a power of hunting them thereon. A *pa* enclosed chase, extending only over a man's own grounds. The w indeed properly signifies an enclosure; but yet it is not every fiel mon which a gentleman pleases to surround with a wall or palin stock with a herd of deer, that is thereby constituted a legal par King's grant, or at least immemorial prescription, is necessary so.* Though now the difference between a real park and s

* Coke on Littleton, 233. 2 Inst. 199. 11 Rep. 86.

grounds is in many respects not very material, only that it is unlawful at common law for any person to kill any beasts of park or chase* except such as possess these franchises of forest, chase, or park. *Free warren* is a similar franchise, erected for preservation or custody (which the word signifies) of beasts and fowls of warren†; which being *ferœ naturæ*, every one had a natural right to kill as he could; but upon the introduction of the forest laws at the Norman conquest, these animals being looked upon as royal game and the sole property of our savage monarchs, this franchise of free warren was invented to protect them, by giving the grantee a sole and exclusive power of killing such game so far as his warren extended, on condition of his preventing other persons. A man, therefore, that has the franchise of warren, is in reality no more than a common gamekeeper; but no man, not even a lord of a manor, could by common law justify sporting on another's soil, or even on his own, unless he had the liberty of free warren.‡ This franchise is almost fallen into disregard, since the new statutes for preserving the game, the name being now chiefly preserved in grounds that are set apart for breeding hares and rabbits. There are many instances of keen sportsmen in ancient times, who have sold their estates, and reserved the free warren, or right of killing game, to themselves; by which means it comes to pass that a man and his heirs have sometimes free warren over another's ground.||

Enough has been stated to enable the non-antiquarian reader to comprehend what it was that was conveyed to Thomas Grelle, Gresley or Gredley, the sixth lord of the manor of Manchester, by Henry the Third's grant of Free Warren. We have not seen the original of this grant, but only the

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* These are properly buck, doe, fox, martin and roe; but in a common and legal sense extend likewise to all the beasts of the forest; which, beside the deer, are reckoned to be hart, hind, hare, boar and wolf, and in a word, all wild beasts of venery or hunting.—(Coke on Littleton, 233.)

† The beasts are hares, coneys and roes; the fowls are either *campestres*, as partridges, rails and quails; or *sylvestres*, as woodcocks and pheasants; or *aquatiles*, as mallards and herons.—(Coke on Littleton, 233.) Grouse are not birds of warren. But Manwood (Forest Laws, c. 4, s. 3) gives a different account: he says (and supports his opinion by referring to 1 Regist. Brev. fol. 93) that there are only two beasts of warren, the hare and the coney, and but two fowls of warren, the pheasant and the partridge.—(Note by the Editor of Blackstone, J. E. Hovenden, Esq.)

‡ Salk. 637.

|| Bro. Abrid. tit. *Warren*.—If the King has granted a warren within a manor, and and the owner infeoffs the King or lord manor, without saying "and the appurtenances," the warren will not pass from the grantor; for a man may well have a free warren in the lands of others.—(Dyer 30 b. pl. 309.)

paper copy (upon a 2s. stamp) of the Record in the Tower, as the heading of the document sets forth:—

"Inter Recorda Curiæ Cancellariæ in Turri London asservata, scilt: in Rotulo Cartarum de anno regni Henrici tertii tricesimo tertio, membrana 8ª, sic continetur:—

CARTA DE WARENNA p. THOMA GRESLEY } Rex Archie'pis &c. Salt'm. Sciatis nos concessisse & hac carta n'ra confirmasse d'i & f'i n'ro Thome Gredley q'd ip'e & heredes sui in p.petuum h.eant lib'am warennam in om'ibz d'nicis t'ris suis de Mamecestr, in comitatu Lanc': & de Wyllanesham in comitatu Suff: ita q'd nullus intret t'ras illas ad fugand: in eis v'l ad aliquid capiendum quod ad warennam p.tineat sine licencia & voluntate ip'ius Thome v'l heredum suor' sup. forisf'c'uram n'ram decem librar'. Quare volum' & firmit' p'cipimus p. nob' & heredibz n'ris q'd ip'e. &c. ut sª [supradicta]. Testibz Joh'e de Plessetis comite Warr', Joh'e Maunsel, p.posito Bev'l: Rado' fil Nich'i, Paulino Peyor', Rogº de Monte Alto, Rob'ti de Ros, Rob'to de Mucegros, Joh'e Extraneo, Rad'o de Wauncy, Rob'to le Norreys, Nicho' de Stannford, Steph'o Bauzan & aliis. Data p. manum n'ram apud Wodest' xxiij die Julii anno r' n' xxxiij."

[Beneath is written in a smaller hand, "The above is a true copy of the original record of Chancery remaining in the Tower of London. (Signed) Wm. Illingworth, Deputy Keeper of the Records, 27th Feb. 1818."]

The following we offer as a literal translation of the grant:—

"Among the Records of the Court of Chancery, preserved in the Tower of London, to wit, in the Roll of Charters of the 33rd year of the reign of Henry III. in the third skin is contained the following:—

CHARTER OF WARREN FOR THOS. GRESLEY } The King to the Archbishops, &c. greeting. Know ye, that we have given, and by this our charter confirmed, to our beloved and faithful Thos. Gredley, that he and his heirs for ever may have free warren in all his demesne lands of Mamecester, in the county of Lancaster, and of Wyllanesham in the county of Suffolk, so that no one shall enter his lands to hunt in them, or to take anything which belongs to warren, without leave and license of him the said Thomas or his heirs, upon our forfeiture of Ten Pounds. Wherefore we will and firmly command, for us and our heirs, that he, &c. as abovesaid. Witnesses: John of the Parks, Earl Warrenne, Jno. Maunsel provost of Beverley, Ralph son of Nicholas, Paul Pey [or]? Roger de Montalt, Robert de Ros, Robert de Mucegros, John L'Estrange, Robt. le Norreys, Nicholas de Stannford, Stephen Bauzan, & oª. Given by our hand at Wodest', the 23d day of July, in the 33d year of our reign." [1249.]

The above is an abreviated copy of the original grant. The "&c." after the word Archbishops in all probability implies the following, which we

take from another grant of free warren, by the same King in 1258, nine years later,—" bishops, abbots, priors, dukes, earls, barons, justices, sheriffs, reeves, officers, and all bailiffs and their faithful servants," greeting. The grantee, Thomas Grelle, Gresley, or Gredley, was the son and heir of Robert Greslet, the 5th Lord of Manchester—(who is said to have died 15th Feb. 15th Hen. III. 1231, when this Thomas was only 3 years old)—by a daughter of Henry, brother of Wm. Longchamp, the Chancellor of Rich. I. Thomas Greslet succeeded his father as 6th Baron of Manchester, about the year 1231, but did not obtain his majority till about 1249. In a post mortem inquisition, his father " Robert de Gredley," is stated to have " held twelve Knights' fees in the county of Lancaster, infra Limam et extra," that is within or without, or under and beyond the line or verge of, the old Mercian boundary. On the county of Lancaster becoming an Earldom, Thomas Greslet (and after him his successors in the barony of Manchester), became liable to take his turn in the duty of castle-ward in Lancaster. About the 26th of Henry III. (1241-2) the King being desirous to make another hostile inroad in France, Thomas Greslet received a summons to fit himself with horse and arms to attend the King in the expedition; but he preferred to give 100 marks (£66. 13s. 4d.) besides his ordinary scutage, to be exempt from that duty. However in the following year he was induced to serve; the expedition proved disastrous and to Greslet expensive, of which indications are left in the sub-infeudations about this period, of lands in Rumworth, Worthington, &c. The last feudal event recorded by Dr. Hibbert Ware as occurring in the life of this Thomas Greslet was the grant of free warren, which he had confirmed to him over the lands of Manchester and Horewich. The following is the Doctor's notice of this grant:—

" Within the barony there was much sporting ground. The wood of Aldport, a mile in circumference, which was used by the tenants of Manchester for pannage, contained within it an aëry of hawks and eagles. The park of Blakelegh, covered with oaks, was seven miles in circumference; it was productive in honey, bees, and 'mineral earths'; it was valued for it pannage, and it contained an aëry of eagles, besides herons and hawks. But the glory of the whole was the extensive chase of Horwich, which merits a more particular description. It is evident, from an examination of manorial records, that a prescriptive liberty of the chase had subsisted throughout the barony of Manchester, time out of mind, and that local forest laws had been framed for the protection of the game to the use of the lord. But in order to obviate any dispute to the contrary, from the newly-created Earl of Lancaster, a confirmation of the privilege by the crown was desirable. As no animals of the class of ferse naturæ could be appropriated without license of the King, unless they were claimed by prescription, which was frequently challenged, and as no lands could otherwise be converted into a franchise or privileged place for the keeping of beasts and fowls of the warren, the Lord of

Manchester availed himself of the well-known inclination of the King to relax the severity of the forest laws, and interceded with such success, that in the 33d of Henry III. [A.D. 1248-9] he had obtained the royal grant of a free warren over the estates of his barony. Thomas Greslet, in the spirit of the Norman 'Veneur', regarded the forest of Horewich as the most valuable appendage of the manor of Manchester. It is also rendered highly probable, from an examination of manorial records, that the baron's chief residence was not at Manchester, but at a hunting-seat, which he built for himself, at or near Heton-under-the-Forest, for the sake of hunting and hawking upon the grounds of Horewich."

Dr. Hibbert Ware then prints a summary of the curious forest laws of Horewich, derived from a manorial record of Kuerden; observing that "although not described until the extent of the barony was taken in 1322, they had a date of origin which is referable to a far more remote period; the right of free warren in the barony having been originally prescriptive." Referring the curious to "the forest laws of Horewich" as described by the historian named, in the "Foundations of Manchester," (vol. iv. pp. 57-58), we may briefly state that the Moor of Horewich about the period named, consisted of both wood and pasture; having a vesture of oaks, elms and other trees, which extended to the adjoining township of Lostock, where, in addition to oaks, hazel trees and thorns are described. Although the extent of the forest was rated at 16 miles in circumference, its boundaries were so much disputed by adjoining proprietors, among whom were the Lacies, that the greatest vigilance was required to prevent intrusion or trespasses. According to the manorial record it was so "several [divided] that none might enter it without leave of the lord."

Henry III. in consequence of his expensive wars in Gascony and his proposed expedition with an English army to the Holy Land, was compelled to seek an aid from Parliament, which in the outset was resisted, when many forfeitures of lands ensued. It is to this cause, says Dr. Hibbert Ware, that we must attribute the escheat which took place of the lands of Manchester and Horewich Forest. The entry was as follows:— "38th Henry III. [1253-4] Thomas Grelle, Manchestre, Horewych forest' terr' Lancastr'." Subsequently, however, we find Thomas Greslet in the repossession of his estates, although the escheat does not seem to have been formally rescinded. In 1259 Greslet was among the number of barons who obeyed the summons to repair to King Henry at Chester; and for this compliance he was in the following year [1260] constituted Warder of the King's Forests South of the Trent. In the 46th year of Henry III. [1261-2] Thomas Greslet died, seised of the Manor of Manchester and its appurtenances. It would appear that he held five and a-half

knights' fees in Manchester; in other parts and the Honour of Lancashire six fees; and one-third part of a knight's fee, with one-twelfth part of another knight's fee, in chief from the Lord the King.

Having concluded this brief sketch of the grantee's life, including a notice of a grant of free warren over the lands of Manchester [? the barony] and Horewich, we must next see whether that grant is the same as the one now under consideration. First, it is clear that the document copied from the original archives in the tower is not an original grant, but a confirmation either of a former grant, or more likely of the immemorial prescription. But while the area of its free warren is "in all his demesne lands of Mamecestre (Lancashire) and Wyllanesham" (Suffolk), the grant referred to, but not cited by Dr. Hibbert Ware (also a confirmation of existing privileges) is stated to be "over the lands of Manchester and Horewich"; and elsewhere "over the estates of his barony." It would seem that this is merely a general and vague way of stating the extent of the privilege conferred, with probably the omission of the manor in Suffolk, as not connected with a local and ecclesiastical history of Manchester. "Demesne," (from the French *demaine*, which is derived from *dominium*) in its widest and earliest sense, signified "patrimonium domini," and may be regarded as embracing all parts of the manor in the hands of the lord himself, or of his copyholders and lessees,—excluding only those portions in the hands of freeholders. The reference by Dr. Hibbert Ware is, therefore, in all probability to the grant of which a copy is given ante. Willanesham in Suffolk, of which we find no other notice in any inquisition or other document relating to the Gresleys,—is now called Willisham: it is a parish in the hundred of Bosmere and Claydon, 4 miles S.S.W. from Needham.

This paper has already extended beyond our intention, and we can therefore only name two or three of the principal witnesses. The first is "John de Plessetis," or of the Parks (from Plesseiz, Norman-French, park,) Earl of Warrenne, one of the greatest men of his time. He was descended from William de Warenne, who was nearly allied to the Conqueror, fought courageously under him at the Battle of Hastings, and for his services was constituted one of the chief justiciaries of the realm. William Rufus conferred upon him the Earldom of Surrey. In 1247, while young, this John Earl Warrenne married Alice, or Avicia, sister by the mother's side to Henry III. She died in 1256, to the great grief of her royal brother, and

as an old chronicler* adds, "especially of her husband, that loved her entirely." In the struggles between the King and the barons with De Montfort at their head, this Earl of Warenne was found occasionally with and at other times opposed to the King. The latter was his position at the Battle of Lewes, which being gained by the King, the Earl fled into France; his possessions being given to the Earl of Clare. He returned in 1265; landed in Wales in great force, and is said to have been benefitted by the Battle of Evesham, where Montfort was slain.

It was in the following reign, however, that Warenne manifested his great ability both for military command and wise counsel. He is said to have been "a man greatly beloved of his people;" and in all his knowledge and distinction, he seems to have been the champion of their liberties. Thus, in the reign of Edw. I. he bravely withstood the King and the recently passed statute of *quo warranto*†; and being asked by what right he held his land, suddenly drawing forth an old rusty sword, he boldly exclaimed—"By this instrument do I hold my lands, and by the same I intend to defend them." The chronicler we have already quoted adds—"So that the thing which generally should have touched and been hurtful to all men, was now suddenly stayed by the manhood and courageous stoutness of one man, the foresaid Earl." Still he found himself compelled to plead, under the statute, before John de Reygate and his associates; and his plea sets forth that by adhering to the cause of the Kings of England in France, the Warennes had lost all their lands in Normandy (his ancestors being Earls of Waren in Normandy), on which account King John gave the lands in England to the ancestors of this Earl, and all which they should afterwards acquire, in *warrenage*, because of their surname, "*à Warenna.*" Evidence was adduced that he had all the chases, *warrens* and liberties appertaining to the honour and barony of Lewes; and it was adjudged that the King should seize nothing by his writ for the present. In close connection with our subject, we may mention that in 1238 this Earl's father, William de Warenne, in consideration of a goshawk given to

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* Peck's Antiquarian Annals of Stamford, lib. viii.

† 18th Edw. I. Stat. 2 [1290]. Under this statute those who could not prove the seisin of their ancestors and predecessors as therein required, might be adjudged to have lost or forfeited their estates and franchises: and these escheated estates were sold and the money applied by the King.

Simon de Pierpont, obtained leave for himself and his heirs to hunt (over Pierpont's lordships of Herst and Godebride, Sussex) the buck, doe, hart, hind, hare, fox, goat, cat, or any other wild beast, in any of these lands. This Earl William died May 27, 1240, nine years prior to the grant of free warren to his son. We can only enumerate a few of the most striking events in the life of this famous Earl John, whose daughter Isabel married John Baliol, the candidate for the Scottish crown; who (Warenne) was created Earl of Surrey, and in the war with Scotland took the Castle of Dunbar; his forces slew 10,000 Scots; and he was made Warden and Governor of the Kingdom. In September 1297 he was defeated by Sir William Wallace at Stirling, and he forms a prominent character in Miss Porter's pleasant romance of the Scottish Chiefs. We can only name his spirited protest against the Pope, and that he died at Kennington, near London, 27th Sept., 1304 [32d Edw. I.] having been Earl of Surrey 54 years, and was buried in the midst of the pavement in the choir of the Abbey of Lewes, before the high altar, with this epitaph in the Anglo-Norman of the time:—

"Vous qe passer ov bouche close
Prier pur cely ke cy repose:
En vie come vous esti jadis fu,
Et vous tiel, ferretz come je su;
Sire Johan Count de Garenne gist yey;
Dieu de sa alme eit mercy.
Ky pur sa alme prierra,
Traiz mill jours de Pardon avera."

Which may be thus literally rendered:—

"You that pass with mouth shut
Pray for him that rests here:
Alive as you are once I was,
And you shall be such as I am.
Sir John Earl of Warrenne lies here,
God on his soul have mercy.
Whoever for his soul shall pray
Three thousand days' pardon shall have."

This last promise was probably the result of a precept of the King directed to the Bishop of London, in which after characterising the departed Earl as a most faithful and useful subject to himself and the whole realm, and who had "departed this life to his [the King's] very great sorrow," he requires the Bishop to cause the Earl's soul to be commended to the

mercy of God, by all the religious and ecclesiastical persons throughout his diocese. Similar precepts were directed to the Archbishop of Canterbury, for his whole province, and to six Abbots. Incidentally we may notice a tradition, given in an old book on Arms, and noticed also in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, that the Earls of Warenne and Surrey (who bore for arms, checky, or and azure) were Earls of Warenne in Normandy, allied to William the Conqueror, and accompanied him hither. Having lost their Norman possessions, they afterwards received an exclusive power of granting permission or license to vend malt liquors, and to enable their agent to collect the consideration-money paid for this privilege, the more readily, the door posts were painted in chequers, the arms of Warren, the practice of which has been handed down to the present day. This privilege of licensing is said to have been exercised by their descendant, the Earl of Arundel, as late as the reign of Philip and Mary.

The second witness, John Maunsel, Provost of Beverley, was also a notable man. He was the grandson of Philip Maunsell who accompanied the Conqueror into England. Our witness rose rapidly in the favour of Henry III., first attaining the rank of King's Chaplain; in the 18th year of the King [1233-4] he was appointed to an office in the Exchequer; in 1243 he was a subscribing witness to the charter of dowry to the Queen; and in the same year was constituted Chancellor of St. Paul's. In 1244 and again in 1246, he was made Keeper of the Great Seal; and his fame for the impartial administration of justice was great. In 1248 he succeeded to the Provostship or Chief Magistracy of Beverley, and soon afterwards was appointed an Ambassador to negociate a nuptial treaty with the King of Spain. In this document he is described as "fidelem nostrum Johannem Maunsell, Cancellarium London: ac Præpositum Beverlaciæ, Secretarium nostrum." In short, he was in high favour with Henry III., who consulted him on all occasions; employed in many diplomatic missions of the highest importance; and his address and superior talent raised him rapidly to the highest dignities of his profession. In Scotland, like Earl Warenne, he was "invested with almost regal powers;" he was raised to the Council, and was styled "Domini regis Clericus, et Consiliarius Specialis." He entertained most sumptuously at his house in London the King and Queen of Scotland, and a great number of the English nobility, upwards of 700 dishes being served; and the house being too small to contain the number of guests, tents were erected for the superfluity in the field. Soon after

he became Treasurer of York; was Ambassador Plenipotentiary to the Court of Rome, and a witness to the deed by which the Pope transferred the Kingdom of Sicily to Edmond, second son of Henry III. During the greater part of that turbulent reign, he was, in short, constantly employed in commissions of importance to the State. He was thrown into prison by De Montfort and the barons for publishing the Papal Edict, absolving the people of England from the oaths they had been compelled to take, to the prejudice of the King; but on the death of the Earl of Leicester, the King liberated Maunsell and made him Lord Chancellor. Subsequently when the King was captured, Maunsell fled to avoid the resentment of the barons, and remained in exile till his death, which occurred probably in 1265. In addition to the high dignities already specified, this distinguished man was the Chief Justice of England, a valiant soldier, "in armis strenuus, et animo imperterritus;" and in a battle fought between the English and the French, in which he took an active part, he captured with his own hand a gentleman of quality, named Peter Orige, after a close and well-fought combat. He was styled by the Pope "dilecto filio, Johanni Maunsell, Thesaurario Eboracensi, *Capellano nostro*," ("our beloved son John Maunsell, Treasurer of York, and our Chaplain.") He held 700 Ecclesiastical livings; was one of the richest commoners in England, having an annual income of more than 4,000 marks [£2,666 13s. 4d.]; "quo non erat in toto orbe, ditior," says Matthew Paris; lived in great pomp and splendour; was honoured with the confidence and esteem of the King and of the Pope; and possessed an influence equal to that of the first baron of the realm. Yet his latest days were spent in concealment, obscurity, and exile, and he probably died from want!

These two remarkable men, alike distinguished in war and in council, for personal courage and for diplomatic ability, being thus brought into juxta-position as witnesses of this grant of free warren,—offered a temptation, too strong to be resisted, to enliven this dry essay with a biographic outline of their lives. The other witnesses must pass unnoticed. Robert le Norreys was in all probability a son of Alan and a brother of Alan le Noreis, of Speke; and is named in deeds of 1277 and 1292. This grant is dated at "Wodest:" [on Friday,] 23rd July, 1249, [33rd Henry III.] This may mean Woodstone, in Huntingdonshire; but more probably, Woodstock, where Henry III was visited a few years afterwards by the King and

Queen of Scotland,* in August, 1256. Always in need, and having been refused aid by his citizens of London, or by the parliament, the King sold his jewels and plate to raise money, and retired to Woodstock; and in this way we guess, the expensive honour of feasting the Royal Visitors devolved upon the wealthy commoner, cleric, soldier, magistrate, royal secretary, and chief justice, the worthy provost of Beverley. These things exhibit a singular picture of our England, midway in the 13th century.

II.—Remarks on the Ancient Mural Painting of the General Judgment, recently discovered in Gawsworth Church.

By the Rev. A. Hume, D.C.L., LL.D.

The painting to which the following remarks refer is one of three, of which the etchings were presented to the Society at its last meeting.† The drawings had been made by the Rev. W. H. Massie of St. Mary's Chester, a member of this Society, who is brother to the Rector of Gawsworth. To the former gentleman a letter was written immediately after last meeting, as a help to the elucidation of this interesting painting. The following is an enlarged transcript.

There appear to be three distinct parts—Heaven, Earth, and Hell.

I. Heaven.—The Sun and the Moon are both visible, and very near each other. This was the usual way of conveying a certain idea, and producing an effect, though not consistent with the laws of modern Astronomy. The Judge is represented as seated on a rainbow, with his feet on a small circle, in allusion no doubt to the well-known text, *Cœlum sedes mea; terra autem scabellum pedum meorum*, which occurs both in the Old Testament

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* Alexander II married the Princess Joan, eldest sister of Henry III, in June, 1221. We learn from the Cronica Maiorum et Vicecomitum Londoniarum, (Vol 34 of Camden Society), that "in the same year [1256] the King of Scotland and his Queen, daughter of the King of England, came into England, and on the Assumption of the Blessed Mary [Aug. 29] were with the Lord the King at Woodstock;" and that afterwards the King of Scotland and his Queen came to Edinurgh, on Sunday before the decollation of St. John the Baptist. [Aug. 20.] As the Assumption that year fell on Friday, August 25, and the following Sunday, August 27, the King and Queen came to London, (distant sixty miles,) they could only have remained a day and a night with their Royal brother or brother-in-law, at Woodstock.

† See page 14.

and the New.* On the right and left two angels are sounding trumpets similar in size and form. Our translation gives two words in a single line,† the original ("trump") and the diminutive ("trump*et*"); but the priest who superintended the original painting no doubt read, *in novissima tuba, canet enim tuba.* On the right and left of the picture are two female figures, each in the attitude of supplication and surrounded by a nimbus. If there were only one, we should have no hesitation in saying that she was intended for the "Queen of Heaven." Beside one of them, who exhibits a rueful countenance, there are "the five wounds of Our Lord," dropping blood; and beside the other, whose countenance betokens rejoicing, there are the cross, the reed with the sponge, and the spear, all marked with gouts of blood. The figures may therefore be symbolical, as indicating suffering and rejoicing, or the Humiliation and Exaltation. The Judge is represented as the second person of the Trinity, with the cross, the wounds, &c. Blood is issuing from each of the wounds, and the hands are elevated as if in the act of exhibiting them.‡ The persons to be judged, and who are "caught up in the clouds," are ranged in a circle, apparently in front of the throne and directly under the trumpets; they are twenty-four in number. These are separated by their countenances into two distinct classes; the twelve on the right hand of the Judge (i.e. on the left of the picture) exhibiting tranquillity, thankfulness and rejoicing; while those on his left indicate surprise, sorrow, or pain. St. Peter, standing

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* Isaiah lxvi. 1. Acts vii. 49. † 1 Corin. xv. 52.

‡ In the Mystery Plays of the middle ages, the circumstances which are here represented to the eye are explained dramatically. Thus in the *Towenely Mysteries*,—the MS. of which is preserved in Lancashire, and which were published by the Surtees Society in 1836,—the following occurs in the play entitled "JUDITIUM."

"*Jesus.* * * * * *

Tunc expandit manus suas et ostendit eis vulnera sua,

Here may ye se my woundes wide
That I suffred for youre mysdede,
Thrughe harte, hede, fote, hande & syde,
Not for my gilte bot for youre nede.
Behald both bak, body, & syde,
How dere I bought youre broder-hede
Thise bitter paynes I wold abide,
To by you blys thus wold I blede.
My body was skowrged withoutten skille,
Also ther fulle throly was I thrett,
On crosse thai hang me on a hille,
Blo [blue] and blody thus was I bett, [beaten]
With crowne of thorne thrastyn fulle ille,
A spere unto my harte thai sett."

beside the former group, exhibits much interest, and is preparing with his key to open the gates of Heaven. Satan on the other side, armed with a hooked club in his left hand, sits directly over the mouth of Hell. He seems in the act of claiming those that belong to him, for he is speaking with open mouth, and exhibits a piece of writing in his right hand. This may be a record of their offences, or more probably it is meant for a catalogue of their names. At the feet of Satan, the head of a monster is visible, perhaps with the intention of representing an idea similar to that of Milton,* that Death, the horrid fruit of Satan and his daughter Sin, is one of the guardians of the gates Hell.

Though this is but one-third of the subject, it comprises more than a-half, nearly two-thirds of the picture. The obvious design of the unknown artist was to give it prominence; and to make the other two allied subjects mere accessories or under plots.

II. EARTH.—Here the church with a cross on the gable seems to indicate the entrance to the celestial regions. *Non hic est aliud nisi domus Dei et porta cœli* † Its position is on the right hand of the Judge, and St. Peter with his key stands immediately over it. Neither of these facts can have been merely accidental. Within appears the sun, perhaps in allusion to the "sun of righteousness." The Holy Father (the Pope) at the door, seems in the act of guiding the true believers in the right direction; and a long train following him have turned their backs upon Satan and are at the side remote from the mouth of Hell. A King and a Queen are among the foremost, as if indicating the fact of a pious nation, or in allusion to the promise, *erunt reges nutricii tui, et reginae nutrices tuae.* ‡ There would be a slight allusion, too, to the condition of the royal family at the time; thus, we may assume that there was not only a King regnant but a Queen consort, though from the rudeness of the drawing there can have been no attempt at portraits.

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* "The other shape
If shape it might be called that shape had none
Distinguishable in member, joint, or limb,
Or substance might be call'd that shadow seem'd,
For each seem'd either; black it stood as Night,
Fierce as ten Furies, terrible as Hell,
And shook a dreadful dart. What seem'd his head
The likeness of a kingly crown had on."

Paradise Lost, II. 666-673.

† Genesis xxviii. 17. ‡ Isaiah xlix. 23.

III. HELL.—Fire is heaped at the entrance; and this mode of representing Hell* was common in the Pageants and Mysteries till a comparatively recent period. The wreaths of smoke are visible at the entrance, (quasi "*fumus tormentorum eorum*"),† and a demon is in the act of stirring up the flame as if "to heat the furnace one seven times more than it was wont to be heated." Lower down in the picture it seems more placid but not less terrible, answering to the graphic description in the Revelation, ***pars illorum erit in stagno ardenti igne et sulphure, quod est mors secunda.***‡ Another demon is in the act of bringing forward a victim on a wheelbarrow, and his baboon-like features "grin horribly a ghastly smile."

The Mystery Plays represent the Demons as mocking the sufferings of the tormented, or conversing coolly respecting them. Thus in the *Towneley* "Juditium" the following occurs:—

Secundus Daemon.—I wold cut thaym a skawte and make theym be knawen,
They were sturdy and hawte, great boste have thei blawne,
Your pride and your pransawte§ what will it gawne?
Ye tolde ilk man's defawte and forgate youre awne.

Tutivillus. Moreover
Thare neghburs thai demyd,‖
Thaym self as it semyd,
Bot now ar thai flemyd¶
From sayntes to recover.

Primus Daemon.—Thare neghburs thai towchid with wordes fulle ille,
The warst ay thai sowchid** and had no skille.

Secundus Daemon.—The pennys thai powchid and held thaym still,
The negons†† thai mowchid‡‡ and had no will
For hart§§ fare,
Bot riche and ille-dedy,
Gederand and gredy,
Sor napand‖‖ and nedy
Youre godes for to spare.

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* Fosbroke enumerates among the machinery at St. Mary's Redcliffe, Bristol, for performing the play of the Sepulchre, "*Item*—Hell made of timber and iron work thereto, with Devils the number of thirteen." Sharp, in his dissertation on Pageants, quotes the following: "*Item*—payd for mendyng Hell mought, ij$^{d.}$;" and again "*Item*—payd for kepyng of fyer at Hell mothe iiij$^{d.}$" Mr. Wright says in his introduction to the *Chester Mystery Plays*, printed by the Shakespeare Society in 1843,—"I have somewhere read of charges for coals to keep up Hell fire; and that on one occasion Hell itself took fire, and was nearly burnt down."

† Apocal. xiv. 11. ‡ Apocal. xxi. 8.

§ Prancing? ‖ Judged. ¶ Driven out. ** Murmured.
†† Neighbours, i.e. negh ones. ‡‡ Spied privately. §§ Hard. ‖‖ Grasping.

* * * * *

Now shalle thai have rom in pyk and tar ever dwelland,
Of thare sorow no some,* bot ay to be yelland
In oure fostre.†

In the foreground there are three, of whom the one on the right seems leading the procession, apparently with a musical instrument. Two others appear to be bringing forward two beings to undergo additional torture, and they submit quietly, while the one on the barrow exhibits signs of sincere sorrow. On the extreme left, a demon seems to be standing at the entrance of a descent, "in the lowest deep a lower deep;" while in the distance another is carrying a burthen of fuel to the fire, and a victim near him is waiting bound for his or her turn of deportation to the fiery lake.

It is scarcely necessary to say that in trying to describe a painting like this, we should endeavour to enter into the contemporary ideas of it, instead of recording our own. The Church at Gawsworth is supposed to have been built in the time of Edward III.; so that this may have been executed about the middle of the 14th century, or perhaps later. Similar paintings were not rare at that period; for the Church, as we know, addressed its teachings to the understanding, more through the eye and less through the ear than at present. From the description of St. Cuthbert's shrine at Durham, we learn that it had a wooden covering, which was elevated and depressed by pulleys, like the top of one of our larger fonts. It was beautifully gilt; and on the North and South sides were "four lively images." On the West side was depicted the Virgin with the infant Saviour on her knee; and on the East, the Saviour sitting on a rainbow to give judgment. In some instances, external symbols‡ are adopted to give us ideas of that which is invisible and immaterial; but a contrary plan is also adopted. The ancient painter, in depicting the sacrifice of Iphigenia at Aulis, represented her father's head as veiled; and similarly, in revelation, there is a veil drawn over scenes whose colouring could not be correctly given in mortal language. "Eye hath not seen nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of man, &c."

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* Definite ending. † Nourishment.

‡ A Roman Catholic gentleman has directed my attention to a little work which is extensively used in the education of the young. It is translated from the Portuguese, and published by authority. The Title is "*Hell opened to Christians, to caution them from entering it.*" Derby, Thomas Richardson and Son. It contains eight engravings, all of which exhibit *bodily* torments of the most awful character.

A circumstance that cannot escape notice is the great preponderance of female figures in the picture. Of sixty-two in all, there are forty-eight of them. Where only heads are visible, they are known by the shape of the countenance, the length of the hair, and the absence of beard. Various reasons may be assigned for this fact. First, it is usual to represent angels as boys or women, for they embody ideas of purity and innocence but not of power. Now in the upper portion of the picture, there are only three that can be distinctly pronounced males, viz., the Judge, St. Peter, and Satan,--and these are all persons possessed of power. The others are distinctly females; or doubtful, like the angels blowing the trumpets. Second, in the middle portion, they are all clearly females except the Pope and the King. This may possibly be an allusion to the fact that in Continental countries, (and similarly in England, anterior to the Reformation,) women are much more attentive to their religious duties; sometimes almost the only persons that think of them. Third, it was not unusual for the clerical painters of the olden time to perform a practical joke against the gentler sex, by representing a very large proportion of them in the lower regions. Females were in fact placed in an unfair position. Their virtues were little known, especially to that portion of the clergy who devoted themselves to literature and the arts; but their errors were known, not only by scandal but through the confessional. It must be admitted, however, that such jocularity has not been indulged in this case, but that on the contrary, if these views be correct, the monks have paid a high compliment to the women of Cheshire.

It may be objected that the texts of scripture which have been quoted were really not familiar to the people some centuries before the Reformation; but we must remember that in all probability a priest was the painter, at all events that the clergy superintended the work. The latter were not quite ignorant of scripture as we know by numerous proofs; and absurd as some of the Mystery Plays are, there are occasional quotations from the Latin text. The passages have been designedly quoted in that form on the present occasion; and it is a curious fact, that the very copy from which they have been taken exhibits numerous proofs of having been carefully studied. It was printed in the early part of the reign of Henry VIII.; and the numerous marginal notes, in a very ancient hand, and underlined sentences, show that its first possessor must have been a man of piety, intelligence, and observation.

FOURTH MEETING.

Collegiate Institution, 5th February, 1852.

HUGH NEILL, F.R.A.S., in the Chair.

PROCEEDINGS.

The Minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The Certificates of three Candidates for Membership were read for the first time.

The following were duly elected Ordinary Members:—

William Adam Hulton, Hurst Grange, Preston.
Robt. Pearson Thacker, 47, Canning Street, Liverpool.

The following DONATIONS to the Society were laid upon the table:—

1. From the *Societies*.

Transactions of the Literary & Philosophical Society of Manchester, vol. ix.

Transactions of the Architectural Institute of Scotland, vol. ii., part 1.

2. From the *Authors*.

Guide to Northern Archæology, by the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries of Copenhagen; translated and edited by the Earl of Ellesmere.

Baines' History of Liverpool, sect. vii.

Collectanea Antiqua, vol. ii., part 7, by Chas. Roach Smith, Esq.

3 From *other* Donors.

P. R. M'Quie, Esq. — Two wax impressions of a seal found in the garden of the Rev. John Longhurst, at Kirkby Mallory Rectory, Leicester. It represents a pelican feeding its young; and perhaps belonged to some warrior at the Battle of Bosworthfield, as the soil in which it was found was carried from the spot, near which Richard III. was killed. The device answers to the name of Carne or Crane, and in Heraldry is called a Canting Coat.

J. H. Johnson, Esq.

A MS. volume of Sermons by the late Rev. Wm. Lewis, Calvinistic Minister, at Whitchurch, Salop.

Comedies of Terence, vol. i., by Madame Dacier, 1724.

J. B. Donaldson, Esq.

"A Guide to Grand Jurymen, divided into two bookes. In the *first* is the author's best advice to them, what to doe before they bring in a *billa vera* in cases of Witchcraft, with a Christian direction to such as are too much given upon every crosse to thinke themselves bewitched. In the *second*, is a treatise touching witches good and bad, how they may be knowne, evicted, condemned, &c. By Richard Bernard, London, 1627."

R. A. Tudor, M.R.C.S.

A small Prayer-book in black letter, printed in 1608.

R. W. Rawlinson, Esq.

Reports of the General Board of Health on a preliminary enquiry under act 11 and 12 Victoria, cap. 63, on the Townships of Ormskirk, 1850; Altrincham, 1850; Broughton, 1850; with Appendix, 1851; Pendleton, 1851; Wavertree, 1851.

Minutes of Information Collected on the practical application of sewer water and town manure to Agricultural productions, 1852.

Jas. Kendrick, M.D.

A Sketch of "Eyres's Warrington Press," a building taken down twenty-five years ago. "*Eyres's Warrington Advertiser*," the first of our County Newspapers, was issued there in March, 1756. Howard the Philanthropist selected this press for its noted excellence to print his great work on the State of Prisons in England, and on Lazarettos. "Reinhold Foster's translation of Kalin's Travels," was also printed here; "Pennant's Tour in Scotland;" Roscoe's poem of "Mount Pleasant;" "Watson's History of the House of Warren;" "Priestley's History of Electricity;" "Aikin's Translation of the Life of Agricola by Tacitus;" which the editor eulogizes as "A Specimen of a Warrington Printed Classic." Many other productions from the pens of Mrs. Barbauld, Enfield, Dr. Percival, Gilbert Wakefield, and others, could be enumerated which have issued from this old building.

John Holmes, Esq. — A Volume of Newspapers consisting of the *Evening Mail* for 1789 and 1790.

The following Articles were EXHIBITED :—

By Joseph Mayer, F.S.A. — Four curious early made Watches, one of them a "pocket clock," similar to one exhibited by Mr. Mayer on a former occasion. It is circular in form, 2¼ inches in diameter and one inch thick; the case is brass richly pierced and gilt. Parts of the works have been repaired, and new springs put in. The second in age, is oval in form with a catgut chain; it was made by "Bouquet, à Londre." The third is cruciform, but the machinery is nearly all gone. It is elaborately engraved with figures, animals, scroll work, &c., and inscribed "Josias Cupar, fecit." The fourth is of about the middle of the last century; maker's name "Ed. Fletcher, Lond."

An early English brownware Jug, on which is the following inscription: "This jug was found on the 1st of May, 1795, on the west side of the kitchen chimney at Afcott, Salop, by the workmen who were employed in taking down the roof, in order to have it repaired, with 197 shillings and 16 sixpenny pieces in it, of the reigns of Edward VI., Philip and Mary, Elizabeth, and James I., the top being stopped with part of the sleeve of a coat, the cloth being perfect and free from moths." The top of the jug being broken off, some of the coins were melted and formed into a lid, on the top of which and the neck were let in some of the coins.

A Goblet made of the same silver, and ornamented with coins in the same manner.

By Mrs. Rawlins. — An elaborately pierced and engraved gold repeater Watch, of about the period of William III.; maker's name "James Reith, London."

A beautifully wrought gold Chatelain, ornamented with figures, &c.

Four very small Minatures, two of which are in Russian costume. The frames are very rude, and are perhaps specimens of the arts of the period.

An elaborately carved Tobacco Box of wood, on the top of which is represented, the Visit of the Queen of Sheba to Solomon; and on the bottom, the Judgment of Solomon. The manner of opening, and fastening the lid, is very curious.

An Ivory Snuff Box; the top and bottom each consisting of a single piece. There is on the lid the bust of a female, apparently the Empress Catherine. It is surrounded by branches of laurel and flowers, and is well executed for the work of an amateur. The hinge is simple, but solidly constructed, and well adapted to the material which it is to hold together. On the bottom of the box is the following description: "This snuff-box was made by Peter the Great, Emperor of all the Russias. Preserved by his daughter, Elizabeth, it was presented by her, when Empress, to John Earl of Hyndford* (a Scotch peer), ambassador from the court of St. James's, to the court of St. Petersburgh in the reign of George the Second." It is said to have been made by the Czar, when residing in Holland.†

By R. H. Brackstone, Esq., London. A large collection of flint Arrow-heads, from various parts of the United Kingdom.

An engraving of one of them, of unique form.

By W. G. Herdman, Esq. The following Drawings, in illustration of the first paper for the evening:

1. Everton Village, with the Cross which was taken down in 1820. 2. The Beacon in 1802. 3. Back of Prince Rupert's Cottage and the Mound from which Liverpool was besieged. 4 & 5. Everton Road & Village. 6. East and west fronts of Everton House, at Gregson's Well. 7. House at the end of Shaw-street, about 1820.

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* John, third Earl of Hyndford, who died 1768, was Ambassador to the Court of Russia from 1744 to 1750.—Ed.

† The watch was presented by one of Queen Anne's physicians to his niece, Mrs. Peters, whose husband was an officer in the Russian army, in the reign of Peter the Great. She afterwards married Benjamin Vigor, Esq., an eminent British merchant, residing at St. Petersburgh, and upon his decease it became the property of his only daughter, Jane, Countess of Hyndford, of Carmichael-house, Lanarkshire. The countess bequeathed the watch, snuff-box, minatures, and other articles of value, to her namesake and cousin, Jane (Mrs.) Rawlins.

The following in illustration of the second paper :—

1. Southport, with a View of the old or first Inn. 2. Old Inn and Lord Street. 3. General View, looking north.

PAPERS.

I. Historical Notes, respecting the Township and Village of Everton.

By James Stonehouse.

[From the great length of the paper as read to the Society, it has been found necessary to condense it very materially: many interesting and curious particulars connected with the township have therefore been unavoidably omitted.]—Ed.

The township of Everton is a locality the features of which are rapidly changing. The following notice of it may appear to such of the members as are familiar with the History of Liverpool, to contain many statements of facts perfectly well known; but local information which is collected and arranged for a society at large, is always comparatively interesting to those even who are acquainted with it.

Of the antiquity of Everton there can be no question. In Doomsday book it is mentioned as *Hiretun*, which may be regarded as the first form of the name; and it was afterwards written *Yerton*. Probably both signified *Over-town* or *Higher-town*, i.e. the town on the hill. It has also been called Dunnock Brow. It is a township in the parish of Walton-on-the-Hill, and part of it lies within the Borough of Liverpool. In early times, it must have been a most agreeable place, commanding as it did an uninterrupted view of the sea, the river Mersey, the Cheshire coast, the Welsh hills in the distance, and the champaign country northward and eastward.

In 1066 or shortly after, the Conqueror granted to Roger de Poictiers the lands lying between the Ribble and Mersey, "inter Ripe et Mersham," which included Everton. This chieftain appears to have been of a turbulent disposition; by grants to his followers, he was the founder of the Lancashire families of Molyneux, Gerard, Halsall, Villiers, Norris, Blundell, and others. He was afterwards dispossessed of his lands, they were restored, however, in the reign of William Rufus; but having been known as a rebellious leader, he was stripped of them a second time, when they were conferred

upon Stephen, afterwards King of England. There is also a story current that Roger de Poictiers, in his anxiety to join the Crusades, pawned his possessions to King Rufus, and was afterwards unable to redeem them.

In the 9th year of Henry III. (1225) the King issued a mandate to the Sheriff of Lancashire "to permit his tenants in Everton to have reasonable 'estovers' out of the King's wood at West Derby, as they were used to do in the time of his father King John, and that he do not compel them to other suit and service than they were accustomed to in the time aforesaid." Hence it would appear that Everton was then a manor of itself; the tenants holding their lands by a direct yearly rent and service to the King.

In 1229 the Manor of Everton was added to the possessions of Ranulph, Earl of Chester. It is probable that in his time the establishment of the Beacon took place; communicating perhaps with the castles of Halton and Beeston in Cheshire.

On the death of Ranulph without issue, Everton passed into the hands of the Derby family, through Agnes his sister, who had married William Ferrers, Earl of Derby. In the 33rd year of Henry III. (1249), the possession of Everton, with all the other possessions of Ranulph lying between the Mersey and the Ribble, were confirmed to this family. In 1252, the Earl of Derby obtained a charter of Free Warren for ever, through all his possessions in Liverpool, Everton, Crosby, Wavretree, and Salford. On the death of the Earl of Derby in 1254, his son Robert succeeded him; and forfeiting his Lancashire estates they were bestowed on a younger son of Henry III., who became Earl of Derby, forming a new line. On the death of Edmund in 1296, Thomas, Earl of Leicester, Derby, &c., succeeded him; and he gave to Robert de Holland the manor of Everton, but it afterwards reverted to the Derby family at his death. In 1327, at an Inquisition taken at Lancaster before Simon de Grimesty, it was stated "that Thomas, late Earl of Lancaster, held in fee various manors, by the service of rendering an ambling nag or 40 shillings per annum; that there was at West Derby an ancient castle; and that there were at Everton 19 nativi who held 24 oxgangs* of land." In the 1st year of Edward I. (1327) at an Inquisition held at Wigan, it appeared that Robert de Holland had entered into possession seven years before, in or about 1320. In the 25th of Edward III. (1352) Henry, Earl of Lancaster and Derby "did give and

* Thirteen acres are reckoned to the oxgang.

grant his town of Everton to John Barret, yielding for the same four pounds." In the grant it is clearly shewn that Everton constituted a special manor; and it is covenanted therein that in the event of Barret dying without issue, the manor should revert to the Earl of Lancaster and his heirs for ever. John Barret, who was appointed castellain of Liverpool in 1365, by Henry, Duke of Lancaster, appears to have died without issue; for we find that Everton once more became crown land, and came into the possession of John of Gaunt, who married the daughter of Henry, Duke of Lancaster. John of Gaunt was succeeded by Henry Bolingbroke, Earl of Derby, afterwards Henry IV.

In the 3rd Henry VII. (1488) at an Inquisition taken at Walton, the *boundary* to the south of Walton is thus described. "It begins at Carton cross, and following to Darling dale and to the east end thereof, and so over the Breck by one ancient ditch to the lands of Everton called Hangfield * Ditch, on the south part of the common of pasture of Walton." Hangfield is sometimes written Hongfield; and the ditch mentioned ran westwardly, dividing Walton Breck from Everton Breck, and other parts of Everton from the southern limits of the Walton township. The lands in Everton were known by the name of Whitefield, Netherfield, and Hangfield.

Prior to the 15th century the greater part of Everton was waste land, and served as pasture for the cattle of the people of Kirkdale, for which privilege they paid to Everton 6s. 8d. annually, while Everton had to pay to the Lord of the Manor 13s. 4d. as a quit or chief rent, called "Breck-silver." This sum was paid up to the 1st October, 1833, and was derived from the rent of a cottage close to St. Domingo Pool still standing, which produced £9 9s. per annum, £5 15s. of which went for the Lord's rent, 13s. 4d. for "Breck-silver," and 4d. for the receipt.

In the 17th James I. (1620) the copyholders of West Derby and Wavretree sent to treat with the crown respecting "a composition to be paid to his Majesty for the confirmation of the copyholders' estates, and for granting the wastes and commons of said Manors by copy of court roll." The crown Commissioners proposed that "such tenants should pay thirty years' rent of their ancient rent; and they would be confirmed for ever in possession on paying, at the death of any tenant, or on surrender to his Majesty, one-third part of the yearly rent as a fine and the yearly rent of 4d. per acre, of seven

* The name is now changed to Anfield.

and a-half yards to the perch, the first payment to be made within a year of possession being given " The copyholders of West Derby and Wavretree agreed, but those of Everton neither joined in the application nor accepted the proposals of the crown, and they were supported by a decision of the Duchy Court, issued 18th James I. (1621), which run thus:—"It is ordered that the allotments and enclosures of the wastes of Everton shall stay and be forborne till further hearing of said difference, at which time the court will order to whom the said wastes of Everton shall be granted."

In the 4th Charles I. (1629), the King, by letters patent dated June 14th, granted to certain citizens of London, viz.:—Edward Ditchfield, John Highlord, Humphrey Clarke, and Francis Mosse and to their heirs the Manor of West Derby. The patentees claimed under the grant, Wavretree and Everton also, but the tenants of Everton refusing to pay them, their goods were distrained, on which, petitioning the King, they had the matter referred to the Duchy Court of Lancaster, and the disputants were summoned to the Duchy House in the Strand, to appear on the 6th November, 1632, before the Chancellor, Lord Newburgh, the Chief Baron of the Exchequer, and the Attorney-General.

On the 23rd December, 1633, it was decided "that the tenants of Wavretree and Everton may keep their rents in their hands, and shall not be troubled by distress or other process out of the Court for the same, until such time as they have direction from the Court to whom they shall pay the same." The patentees, not satisfied, brought a bill into Chancery, and distrained the tenants of Everton and Wavretree for non-payment. The tenants applied to the Duchy Court, and the following order was made—"That the bailiff of the Manor of West Derby, upon notice of this order, shall forbear to impose, collect, or gather any fines or amercements of any of the said tenants and inhabitants of Wavretree and Everton for not appearing and doing service at the said Halmote Court kept for the said Manor of West Derby, or for any other matter against them or any of them, in anywise." On the 11th February, 1635, the Court of Chancery dismissed the cause, and the rights of Wavretree and Everton were established. The patentees, however, distrained again, and in consequence, on the 17th February, 1635, it was ordered, that the Receiver-General should receive the two and a-half years' rent then due, amounting to £12 11s. 11d., and give an acquittance for it, and that they should continue to pay their

rents to him. Litigation continued, the tenants of Everton took proceedings on the 20th May, 1636, and the Court of Chancery made the following order:—"That the plaintiffs shall reply to the defendants' answers before the end of Michaelmas next, and the cause to proceed to legal hearing in this Court according to ordinary course, and the injunction formerly granted to stand in force." On the 8th May, 1638, it was ordered that the cause be set down to be tried on the ensuing 7th June, on ten days' warning being given to the plaintiffs or any one of them. But the plaintiffs, instead of litigating the matter further, made a purchase of the manors of Everton and Wavretree. In 1639, Charles, by letters patent in the 14th year of his reign, gave and granted to Ditchfield, Highlord, Clarke, and Mosse, the towns of Wavretree and Everton.

On the 20th June, 1639, the patentees sold to James, Lord Stanley, the manor of West Derby and the towns of Everton and Wavretree, who in 1642, the 17th Charles I., appointed a Court for these manors, Sir Richard Molineux, Bart., being Steward. At this Court it was proved that Everton paid £5 11s. 3½d. for the enclosed lands, and for the commons called Hongfield, Whitefield, and Netherfield 13s. 4d. per annum, and at every King's fifteen,* 2s. for the said commons.

After many disputes, at last in 1667, the Everton copyholders agreed to pay the Earl of Derby 12 years' rent, of their ancient rent, and permit him to enclose 69 acres of the commons land for self and heirs, on condition that he would confirm their copyhold rents certain for ever, with the privilege of the other two-thirds left unenclosed, amounting to 120 acres. This agreement is dated 1st January, 1667. It is probable that the Heyeses availed themselves of this arrangement to build their house, which still stands in Everton Village and bears date as follows:—

H
I M
1688

On the death of the Earl of Derby, in 1702, the entailed estates went to another branch of the Stanley family, but Everton and those un-entailed came to Lady Henrietta Maria, Baroness of Ashburnham, whose trustees, in 1716, granted a lease of 1000 years, of 115 acres of the common land to certain copyholders of Everton, in con-

* The King's fifteens were amongst the oldest rates in the kingdom, and were superseded by the land tax. In Magna Charta, fifteenths are named in payment to the King as being one-fifteenth of all moveables.

sideration of £115 ready money. Thus only five acres of common land remained. The copyholders had to pay £5 15s., or one shilling per acre on the land leased, and 13s. 4d. "Breck-silver." This lease is important, as from its date, all the waste land in Everton, with the exception of the five acres, which include the mere and some patches of ground, was reclaimed.

In 1717 Mr. Isaac Green, a solicitor of Liverpool, whose wife was daughter and heiress of Sir Gilbert Ireland, purchased the rights, privileges and emoluments of the Manor of Everton, with those of the Manors of West Derby and Wavretree. On his death, July 5th, 1749, his possessions became the property of his daughters, co-heiresses, afterwards Mrs. Blackburn of Hale, and Mrs. Gascoyne of Childwall. Everton fell to Miss Mary Green, who married Bamber Gascoyne, Esq., M.P., of Barking, Essex, by whom she had two sons. At Mrs. Gascoyne's death, May 8th, 1799, the Manors of West Derby, Everton and Wavretree, descended to Bamber Gascoyne, Esq., the elder son, many years M.P. for Liverpool. General Gascoyne was the other son. At the death of the younger Mr. Bamber Gascoyne, 16th January, 1824, the Manors were inherited by his daughter, who married the Marquis of Salisbury, by whom they are now enjoyed.

An important event in the history of the Township is its occupation by Prince Rupert, in 1664. He encamped on the high ground between Shaw Street and Everton Village, and established his head quarters in a cottage which was pulled down April 22nd, 1845. Behind it, until lately, there was a mound, on which a battery is said to have been constructed. In 1844 a gun and sword, thickly encrusted with rust, were dug up from the area of this mound, which was used as a garden. Few details of the events of the siege are on record, which is singular, considering the length of time Everton was occupied. Prince Rupert, after taking Bolton, and refreshing his troops, towards the end of May, 1644, marched to Liverpool, and arrived on the 1st June. He attacked, first the north side of the town, which was defended by a ditch 12 yards wide and three deep, extending from the east end of Dale Street to the river. Ramparts were also constructed of woollen packs, brought over from Ireland by refugees from the religious persecution then taking place in that country. The river defended it on the west, and on the south the Pool, which would also protect the east, as it ran up Whitechapel, then called Frog Lane. We may suppose also, that on the west side of Whitechapel, which was skirted by open fields,

lying between it and Dale Street, now occupied by Button Street, Sir Thomas' Buildings, &c., batteries were hastily constructed, which assisted in keeping off the assailants so long. The attack on the north side failing, Prince Rupert moved to Everton, and is said to have extended his lines on the heathery brow of the hill, from the Beacon to what is now called Brunswick Road.

It is to be doubted whether Prince Rupert ever thought seriously of taking Liverpool from Everton, as it is evidently too distant from Liverpool. What was Prince Rupert's motive, then, in remaining at Everton? It was not to be out of harm's way, as there never was a braver soldier. It was not through ignorance, as he was an engineer of first-rate abilities. His true character has only of late been made known, and as a warrior by sea and land, and as a statesman, he had few equals. He was skilled in the arts of the sculptor, the musician, the poet and the chemist. What then were his motives for attacking Liverpool from Everton? It is most probable and possible, that finding "the crow's nest," as he contemptuously called Liverpool, to be "a den of lions," as he afterwards called it, he busied himself while at Everton in that negociation which eventually placed the town in his hands. Whatever were his motives, he soon advanced his line of attack to the London Road, where he threw up batteries opposite the ends of Norton and Seymour Streets, extending them thence northwards towards Gerard and Hunter Streets and Shaw's Brow, and on the south, on the site of the houses which lie between London Road and Copperas Hill, which were then open fields.

As corroborative of this it may be mentioned, that some 35 years ago a very old lady stated that she remembered a trench to be open in those fields, and that in her young days it was said "to have been opened by Prince Rupert." In this trench several rebels of the year '45, hanged at the Gallows Mill adjacent, were buried. In 1805 the trenches in London Road were discovered for about twenty yards, opposite to Norton Street. The rock seemed to have been cut through very deeply, but filled up with rubbish. In these trenches broken flasks, bones, shot-belts, leaden balls, and a portion of a wall were found. In 1745, while digging the foundations of the Old Infirmary, which stood on the site of St. George's Hall, other trenches were found, and in them were cartouche boxes, bottles, a gardevin, &c.; and in 1821 remains of trenches were again found in Gloucester Street. Prince Rupert not succeeding on this side, moved again to the North/

and on the 26th June carried the town by escalade, being assisted, it is said, by persons in the town itself.

Rupert's Cottage was a long, low thatched building, of a single story, and nearly rectangular, being about five yards in width at the Eastern end and somewhat wider at the Western ; its length was twenty yards. It was built of rubble and broken stone. The rafters were of oak, and two beams are at this date to be seen in the yard of Mr. Jones of Everton, plasterer, who purchased the materials when the cottage was taken down, and serve as uprights for a timber rack. From its timber also, Mr. Joseph Mayer, F.S.A., caused a vase to be made, which was presented by the Society in 1848 to Lord Albert D. Conyngham, now Lord Londesborough, and a case for containing the address of the Corporation of Liverpool on the occasion of Her Majesty's visit in 1851. There was a projecting closet attached to the cottage, which was taken down some fifty years ago. The interior of the cottage was of the usual humble description. There is in the Collegiate Institution, an old cabinet, purchased from the inmates of the cottage, which is said to have been in it in Prince Rupert's time.

At the time of the siege, the army occupied the hill from the Beacon to Low Hill, which was then completely covered with heather, without a single dwelling. In Everton there were a few cottages, one of which, of the same date probably as Prince Rupert's, was pulled down about five or six years ago. Previous to 1700 the whole of the North and South sides of the hill were unbuilt upon. Nearly opposite to Halliday's Coffee House (licensed about 1770) in Rupert's Lane, on the site where Mr. Shand's gates now stand, were a pinfold and cage. In 1787 the pinfold was removed to Netherfield Road and the cage was erected in the triangular spot of ground on the sloping brow. This field was anciently called Barn o' the Hill field, as a barn once stood upon it, and was sold to the township in 1770 by Mr. Seacombe for £20. In 1797 the grass on it was sold for the first time for 5s. Mr. Harper, who obtained the township's order for the removal of the pinfold and cage, built, in 1790, Mr. Shand's house, and improved Rupert Lane, which at that time was deeply rutted and almost impassable. The site of Rupert's Terrace was formerly a smithy, connected with the village by a footpath, which probably is represented by a passage which connects at the present day the lane and the village. Previous to 1820 there stood opposite to the Parish Office a Cross,

on which was a dial. The township kept it in repair, as we find that in 1774 "a shilling was paid to a mayson for squaring the dial," and in 1785 the same sum for repairing the cross, and in 1787, £2. 15s. 5d. for the same purpose. During the sweating sickness in Liverpool, in 1650, a market was held round the cross, and the money in passing between the parties was dropped into a bucket of water. The cross was removed in 1820, as it was found to be in the way of vehicles, and some accidents had been occasioned by it. But as it was much venerated, it was secretly removed by two individuals during the night, and the stones were deposited in the cage till the excitement caused by its disappearance ceased.

Within the last five or six years there stood in the village an old cottage of similar construction to Prince Rupert's, probably occupied during the siege by his officers. Its place is now occupied by the Parish Office, and the original fire-place is shewn in the outer office. In 1759 Molly Bushell, the originator of the famous Everton toffee, resided here—it was made from a receipt of Dr. Gerrard's. The present Mr. Sandiford of the village is a descendant of this Mrs. Bushell, and preserves the original receipt.

The cottages which skirt the deep brow rising from Netherfield Road were built about 1692, and among them we have another toffee establishment kept by Mrs. Cooper, which has been in her family for more than fifty years. The shambles near these cottages are supposed by some to be of very ancient date, but they have been erected within the last thirty-five years only.

In the narrow part of the street leading from the village to the commencement of Church Street there are two cottages, built by an old and respectable Everton family of the name of Heyes before alluded to, one is dated 1688; the other is dated 1734. Where Rupert Lane, Church Street, Everton Village, and Breck Road meet was anciently called "Four lane ends."

The main approach from Liverpool was by the present Everton Crescent, the fields about which were formerly called Richmond meadows. This road was formerly called Causeway Lane, and afterwards Loggerhead Lane, from a public house which was near the site of the present "Loggerheads Revived"*: near it stood a dyer's house

* The house was previously occupied by a private family, and in it Mrs. Hemans spent many of her early years.

and a pond surrounded by willows. The sum of £8. 13s. 10d. was paid by the township for paving this lane, which was often almost impassable from ruts. The Crescent was built shortly after 1807, the two fields on which it stands having been purchased by Messrs. Webster, Highfield, Bibby and Scholefield. From the early part of the eighteenth century the houses of Everton improved greatly, and towards the end of it, the Liverpool merchants built many elegant mansions. The value of land increased, so that £21 were paid for what would have been let for only the same number of shillings formerly. In 1549 the fields at the back of Aspinall's Buildings, containing 2½ acres, were sold for £15, and some time ago they brought £200 per acre. At present from 15/ per square yard has been obtained for land in the township.

The St. Domingo estate occupies the North-east of the township, and was owned in 1790 by two individuals. A part of it was called "Cobbler's Close," a shoemaker having first enclosed the waste land. This title was changed to "Pilgrim" by Mr. Barton, who purchased it out of his share of the spoil of a French vessel, captured by the Pilgrim privateer, the property of Joseph Birch, Esq., M.P. Sir William Barton, Mr. Atherton, and afterwards Mr. Woodhouse who gave it the name "Bronte," (from his connexion with Bronte in Sicily,) held it in succession. The originator of the St. Domingo estate was Mr. Campbell, who, in August 1757, purchased a portion of, it and afterwards the remainder: he called it "St. Domingo," from one of his vessels having taken a rich prize off that island. In 1793 it became the property of Mr. Sparling (Mayor of Liverpool) who rebuilt the house. From him Sparling Street Wapping, and Sparling Street, connecting Beacon and St. Domingo Lanes were called. In 1812 it became the property of the Barrack Commissioners for £26,383. 6s. 8d., subject to 19s. 4d. Lord's rent. The inhabitants used every exertion to prevent these Commissioners from taking possession, but without avail. Everton was again selected as a barrack station in 1848. In 1803 Prince William (afterwards Duke of Gloucester) resided at St. Domingo House, when commandant of the district, and in 1804 was visited by his father, and both from their courtesy were very popular. St. Domingo House, after passing through various hands since, has lately become a Jesuit's College, called St. Edmund's. Mere Bank at the North-east corner was originally called "Headless Cross," and a cross is said to have stood there, but its history is unknown.

In the South-east of the township was the house of Mr. Gregson, close to which was an excellent well, from which the neighbourhood had the name of Gregson's Well. The singular bend that the road here takes was originated by the owner of this house diverting the throughfare to its present shape in consequence of the dust incommoding him and his family. Gregson's villa was erected on the site of the Fabious' house, which was built long prior to 1700. In this year the Fabiouses (alias Beans) procured a license for a room in their dwelling for prayer meetings of the Baptists. They appear to have been influential members of a then small community. In 1707 Daniel and Hannah Fabious gave the Baptists a piece of ground for a cemetery. It is on the Everton Road. Interments have not taken place in it for some time, the ground being quite full. The management of it is vested in three trustees. In 1714 a Baptist chapel was erected near the burying ground, the congregation of which about 1722 removed to the new chapel in Byrom Street. Gregson's villa and gardens have disappeared, and are covered by multitudes of small houses.

The Necropolis, commenced in 1824, was opened February 1, 1825, Dr. Raffles officiating at the funeral of a Miss Hope. Shaw Street was commenced in 1829, and on its East side is the Collegiate Institution, the first stone of which was laid October 22, 1841, by Lord Stanley. In the North-west of the township is St. George's Church, built at the cost of £11,500 in £100 shares. The land was given by Mr. Atherton, who reserved for himself ground for a vault, and stipulated that no funerals should enter by the West gate except by permission of himself or heirs. There are three exquisitely stained glass windows at the Eastern end of the Church, executed by Wailes of Newcastle. The centre or principal one was erected in memory of the late Rev. R. P. Buddicom, the first incumbent, who afterwards became principal of St. Bees. The window at the end of the left-hand gallery was put up by Mr. Dyson, and that in the right-hand gallery by Mr. Staniforth in memory of his parents, the late Samuel Staniforth, Esq., and lady. St. George's Church was consecrated 26th October, 1814, being the first place of worship erected in the township with the exception of the Baptist Chapel previously mentioned. There are now three more Churches, viz., St. Augustine's, Christ's, and St. Peter's Churches; a fifth, St. Chrysostom's, is in progress of erection, near Whitefield Lane.

On the site of the corner of the East end wall of St. George's Church formerly stood the Beacon, which Gregson in his Fragments supposes was built by Ranulph Blundeville, Earl of Chester, and which may have been a medium of communication with Halton and Beeston Castles, both in his possession. Others doubt this, as up to the time of Edward III., faggots only were piled up for Beacons, which were fired when occasion required, while in his reign boxes filled with pitch on poles were used. A sketch taken in 1802 shews it to have been a plain square tower, of a dull red colour. There was a lower apartment and also an upper, reached by a flight of narrow stone stairs, and by another similar flight the flat platform on the top was gained. It was six yards square and twenty-five feet high. In 1770 a watch movement maker took up his abode in it, who was succeeded by a cobbler about 1773. Marriages are said to have been performed in it in the time of Chas. I., when the loyal clergy were expelled from Liverpool. The Beacon, it is thought, was used at the threatened invasion of the Spanish Armada, and in 1760, when Thurot's descent was expected, it was an important station. It was blown down in a storm in 1803. In forming St. George's grave-yard two skeletons were found, supposed to have been the remains of Prince Rupert's soldiers. In 1804 a telegraph station was established by government on the site of the Beacon, where St. George's Hotel now stands, in connexion with one at Ashurst. It was taken down in 1815, at the end of the war. At the corner of Priory Lane there is a house, built in 1800 by Mr. Hinde, which is said to have been in its original state a copy of the Beacon.

Waterhouse Lane, connecting Church Street with Everton Terrace, has been a thoroughfare for the last eighty years. It was opened by William Clarke, Esq., who erected the house lately occupied as a barrack, and now in the possession of Mr. Waterhouse.

Adjacent to Whitefield Lane, within a few years, a large village has sprung up, and will shortly form a small town in itself.

The rental of Everton in 1671, was £52 2s.; in 1769, £2209 11s. 6d.; in 1815, £9081; in 1829, £30,139; and in 1851, £92,071.

The population of Everton was—

In 1327	.....	95 inhabitants.
1692	.....	135 ,,
1714	.....	140 ,,

1769	46 houses	253 inhabitants.
1790	67 „	370 „
1801	87 „	499 „
1811	140 „	913 „
1815	188 „	1222 „
1821	320 „	2109 „
1829	570 „	3703 „
1831	.....	4511 „

	Houses.	Unoccupied.	Building.	Inhabitants.	Rateable property.
1841.....	1680	85	137	9221	£59,260.
1851.....	5741	574	183	25508	£92,071.

It will be thus seen that a most astonishing increase is taking place in the population of Everton, and there is little doubt that when the next census is taken there will be found an increase of at least two-thirds over the present number of inhabitants.

II. Topography and Antiquities of Southport and its neighbourhood.

By Hugh Gawthrop, Esq.

This was a brief topographical Essay, noticing the prominent features of the country, in the four parishes of North Meols, Halsall, Walton-on-the-Hill, and Ormskirk. Southport was taken as the starting point, from which a temporary resident might radiate to the others, at occasional visits. The rapid rise of Southport is one of the curious facts of modern times. About fifteen years ago, it was known mainly to the working classes in the various manufacturing towns of the county, and was, as if by a sort of conventional arrangement, the watering place of the poor. They came at periodical intervals to enjoy a week's cessation from their wasting toil; and anxious to give themselves over to rude enjoyment, the scenes of drunkenness and general depravity said little for the condition of their morals. Now, these have given place to totally different classes in society. The scattered huts among the sand hills have become a small town; comfortable houses have been built for the accommodation of temporary residents; the place is easily accessible by railway from Manchester or Liverpool; it is celebrated for its beautiful air and water; and thus its primitive character is lost for ever. The other places mentioned in the paper are of too much importance to be passed over with a brief notice; and it is hoped that on future occasions, distinct memoirs may be written on all or several of them, either by the author of the present paper or by others.

FIFTH MEETING.

Collegiate Institution, 4th March, 1852.

P. R. M'QUIE, Esq., in the Chair.

PROCEEDINGS.

The Minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The Certificates of three Candidates for Membership were read for the first time.

The following were duly elected Ordinary Members :—

Rev. John Shepherd Birley, Halliwell Hall, near Bolton.
David Howe Lambert, Baltic Buildings, Redcross Street, and Bedford Street, Liverpool.
James Sykes, Breck House, Poulton-le-Fylde, and 49, Seymour Street, Liverpool.

The following DONATIONS to the Society were laid upon the table :—

1. From the *Society*.

Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries, No. 22, in vol. ii.

2. From *other* Donors.

Robert Rawlinson, Esq.	Reports of the Board of Health, on a preliminary inquiry, &c. respecting Berwick-on-Tweed, (2 copies); Poulton-cum-Seacombe, (2); Rusholme, (2); Dorchester and Fordington, (2); Morpeth and Bedlington, (2); Birmingham, Carlisle, and Dover, (1 each.)
P. R. M'Quie, Esq.	A map of Manchester, A.D. 800. Copied by James Wyatt, Engineer.
James Kendrick, M.D.	Randle Holme's Academy of Armory; printed at Chester 1688.
Rev. T. Faulkner Lee, M.A., Lancaster.	Lithograph of the Ancient Runic Cross, of Lancaster, now in the Museum of the Natural History Society at Manchester. Drawn from the original, by the Rev. T. F. Lee.

J. W. Whitehead, Esq. — Prospectuses of Projected Schemes in Liverpool, about the year 1836. Of 102 which were proposed, Mr. Whitehead had collected as many as 80 Prospectuses.

The following Articles were EXHIBITED :—

By Joseph Mayer, F.S.A. — Six stone Celts of various sizes and shapes; four bronze do.; part of a sword blade; an ancient spear head with the wood in it; and a palstab found in the County Antrim, Ireland.

By Dr. Hume. — Bag of a "leubra" or native Australian woman, made of the stringy bark tree. A New Zealand basket made throughout of the *phormium tenax* or native flax.

By Alfred Rimmer, Esq. — Three Drawings by George Ormerod, Esq., D.C.L., &c.,—viz., Smithell's Hall, exterior and interior views, 1810; and Hale Hall, 1820.

MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS.

Dr. Hume exhibited and read extracts from certain MSS. forwarded by Major-General the Hon. Sir Edward Cust, K.C.H., Vice-President. The following extracts sufficiently explain their import and shew their character.

> "Deposiconns of witnesses taken within the King's Ma't's Court of Excheq^{r} within his highnes Castle at Chester, the vijth daye of Maye, Anno Regni Regis Jacobi, Angliae &c. quint. et Scotie xl° 1607 Upon the ple & behalf of Gilbert Vrmeston defte against John Vrmeston compl^{t}

"Henrie Watte of Moreton w.thin the Countye of Chester husbandman, aged three score yeares and upwards, sworn and examned. Saith he knoweth the p.tyes, and hath knowne them for the space of thirtye yeares nowe last paste and above. And did also knowe William Vrmeston in this Interr. named, and that the said defte is eldest sonne and next heire to the said William Vrmeston. The said William in his lief tyme and at the tyme of his death, was taken and reputed to be lawfully seised in his demeasnes of fee, of and in the messuage & certeyne howses and buildings garden and yord to the same belonging, scituate in Moreton, nowe in the plts occupacion, and also of and in one Close or p.cell of land in Moreton aforesaid, called the West-car-hey,. * * * And verilye thinketh that the said cottage is builded upon the deftes owne landes, or upon the waste landes in Moreton aforesaid, But whether the deftes father did fynd tymber to the building of the same he knoweth not. * * * Hee saith that there was heretofore a survey taken and made by Henrye Connye John Roberts and Myles ffells, officers for the said henry the late Earle of

derbye of the landes in the Interr. mentioned. And that there weare p.sent at the survey with the deponent William Bennet and Richard Rob^ts with others whose names he certeinly rem'mbreth not. And that theis p.celles of land hereafter named, Viz the lytle Kyllonde, the two hullondes in the Gorstefield, the dovehowselonde, the Waynsharelonde, the Smyrlelonde, the hadlonde at the head, the hullonde in the oulde field, the hullonde in the Hawthorne, the Waye butt, the Wyldmarelonde, the borde meadowe, the pyke by the rake, and the hullond by the rake weare then surveyed * * Also saieth that the said Compl^t hath used and taken one Cowe grasse in the Towne More of Moreton aforesaid, as Ten'nt thereof to the defte, And that the right ho^r William Earle of derby is Chief lord or owner of the Inheritance of the said Moore, And that the said defte hath the said Cowe grasse as app^rten'nte and belonging to his Inheritance in Moreton aforesaid, and p^rmitteth the Complt to use the same, And that the defte doth putt one Cowe less in the said Moore by reason that the Complt hath the superior title there. And further saieth that the defte is a Charterer w^th.in the said Townshippe of Moreton. And that there are divers other Charterers w^th.in the said Townshippe, that have Comon of pasture or grasse for kyne or Cattle in the said moore, by reason their Inheritance in Moreton aforesaid." Other Witnesses were William Martin of Saughaull Massye, yeoman; Thomas Fabon of Moreton, husbandman; Henrie Smith, Arthure Vrmeston, and Henrie Irbie of Moreton, husbandmen.

The Society resolved to join in the invitation to the British Association for the Advancement of Science, to meet in Liverpool in 1853.

PAPERS.

I.—A Lancashire Charm, in Cypher, against Witchcraft and Evil Spirits.

By John Harland, Esq.

Many years ago, certainly prior to May 1825, some men engaged in pulling down a barn, or shippon, at West Bradford, about two miles north of Clithero, in this county, were attracted by seeing a small square piece of wood fall from one of the beams; and with it dropped a paper, folded as a small letter [3⅝ by 2⅜ inches], but measuring, when opened, 7¼ by 6 inches. A sort of superscription was in large and unknown characters; and inside, the paper was nearly covered with a sort of hieroglyphics, with strange symbols and a table or square, of 36 small squares, filled with characters in red ink, the great bulk of the writing being in black ink. For the loan of this paper I am indebted to its possessor, Jeremiah Garnett, Esq., of Roefield, Clithero.

In May 1825, this curious document was entrusted to the late Rev. Richard Garnett, of the British Museum, a gentleman of much erudition, and varied and extensive learning. By the aid of some old astrological books, he succeeded in decyphering and explaining the whole, and it is his explanation, (with a very few additions and corrections of my own) that I have now the honour of submitting to this Society. In the middle ages, charms and exorcisms were numerous; and Brand, in his Popular Antiquities, gives a week's entire service of the Roman Catholic Church, for the exorcising of a haunted house by the priest, the prayers differing every day; as to which we may observe, in reference to the charm under notice, that the collect for St. Michael's Day was said on the Tuesday and not the Sunday.

The table in the left top corner is a sort of magic square, called by astrologers "The Table of the Sun." It is so arranged that the sum of every row of six small squares, whether counted vertically, horizontally, or diagonally, amounts to 111, and the sum total to 666, a favourite magical number, the origin of which is to be sought in Revelations, xiii., 18:— "Here is wisdom. Let him that hath understanding count the number of the beast: for it is the number of a man; and his number is *six hundred three score and six*,"—i.e., 666. For the sake of greater mystery the numerals are expressed by *letters*, as follows:—

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	0
a	e	i	o	u	l	m	n	r	z

There are apparently some slips of the pen in it. For example, the second number of the first transverse or horizontal row (io=34), ought to be (ie=32), and the 2nd number of the 5th row, which is partially obliterated, should be (er=29). In the top tablet or space, flanking this table, are five mystical characters or symbols in red ink. The first in the top left corner, consists of the symbols of the Sun, and of the constellation Leo, which, in astrology, is "the Sun's own house," and where of course he is supposed to have the greatest power. The word written in black ink under these symbols, is μ-χιν *(machen)* the cabalistic name of "the third heaven," and the Archangel Michael being supposed to preside over that sphere,—his seal or cypher is introduced below the symbols just named (the commencement like a rude 4 and the termination like a capital N,) with his name subscribed, μιχ-ιλ (Michael). The next character, at the centre top (like a rude Z with circular ends,) is "the *Intelligence* of the

Sun", that word being written over it, ιντελλιγενς. Under this is a character or symbol (like a broken fork) denoting "the *Spirit* of the Sun," the word σπιρit (spirit) being written within it. In astrology every planet is supposed to have two beings or spirits attached to it, and called its Intelligence and its Spirit. The last figure, which contains within its quarterings the σ,γ,λ (Sigil, seal), is the seal of the Sun himself, in astrological language. All these symbols show that the charm was meant to be put in operation on a Sunday, that being the day of the Archangel Michael, as well as of the Sun.

We now come to the words of the charm itself. These are disguised by a peculiar vowel notation, and further obscured by the partial employment of a few Greek characters for some of the consonants and the distortion of the form of most of the other letters. The vowel notation runs thus :—

a	e	i	o	u
–	*b*	'	\	/

The consonants are thus written :—

b, like a rude capital C.
c, *f*, *j*, *s*, *w*, *x*, with little alteration from the ordinary forms.
d, *h*, as they are found in ancient writings.
g, *l*, *m*, *n*, *p*, in Greek characters.
q, *r*, like the figures 9 and 7 respectively.
t, like a staff, with a hook or small circle at top.

These are all illustrated in the fac-simile adjoining.

The charm occupies fourteen lines, which may be thus rendered into ordinary letters :—

Line 1.—apanton [or awanton] + hora + camab + naadgrass + pynavet ayias + araptenas

2.— + quo + signasque + payns [or pagns? pagus] + sutgosikl + tetragrammaton +

3.—inverma + amo + θ, [apparently an abbreviation for *Theos*, God] + dominus + deus + hora + [here the hole in the paper obliterates a word] + fiat + fiat + fiat +

4.—ut dicitur decimo septimo capitulo Sancti Matthæi a vigesimo carmine

5.—fide demoveatis montes, fiat secundum fidem, si sit vel fuerit

6.—ut cunque fascinum vel dæmon habitat vel perturbat hanc

7.—personam, vel hunc locum, vel hanc bestiam, adjuro te, abire

8 —sine perturbatione, molestia, vel tumultu minime, nomine

9.—Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sanctu. Amen. Pater noster qui es

10.—in cœlis, sanctificetur nomen tuum, veniat regnum tuum, fiat voluntas

11.—tuo, sicut in cœlo etiam in terra, panem nostrum quotidianum da

12.—nobis in diem, et remitte nobis peccata nostra, etenim ipsi

13.—remittimus omnibus qui nobis debent; et ne nos inducas in tentat—

14.—ionem, sed libera nos a malo. Fiat."

It will be seen that the first three lines of this charm are a sort of gibberish, with an admixture of Greek and Latin words, constituting in itself a charm, supposed to be efficacious in expelling or restraining evil spirits. With the fourth line then, must begin our translation :—

"As it is said in the 17th chapter of St. Matthew, at the 20th verse, 'By faith ye may remove mountains ; be it according to [my] faith,'*—if there is, or ever shall be, witchcraft [or enchantment] or evil spirit, that haunts or troubles this person, or this place, or this beast, [or cattle], I adjure thee to depart, without disturbance, molestation, or trouble in the least,—in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost Amen."

Then follows the Lord's Prayer—" Pater noster," "Our Father, which art in heaven," &c., ending with the word, "Fiat", (be it done.)

It remains to notice the superscription or endorsement, for the paper has been folded as a letter, and these words are written outside :—

–γλ– + εν

tετ7–γ7–μμ–t · ν

These we read "Agla — On [or En] — tetragrammaton." The first two words are names given to the Deity by the Jewish cabalists. The third, (which is also the last word in the second line of the charm) is meant to authenticate the whole; and to show that it is the production of an artist who understood his business; for "tetragrammaton",† and "fiat", are words

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* This is not a literal quotation. The verse runs thus :—" If ye have faith as a grain of mustard seed ye shall say unto this mountain, Remove hence to yonder place, and it shall remove ; and nothing shall be impossible unto you."

† "Tetragrammaton" is a word frequently in use among Jews, as descriptive of the sacred and unpronounceable name (Jehovah.)

of such potency, that a charm without them would be of no efficacy whatever. The late Mr. Garnett, writing in May, 1825, adds—"I should think that the document is of no great antiquity, probably not more than 30 or 40 years old. It was doubtless manufactured by some country 'wise man', a regular dealer in such articles. There are, I believe, several persons within 20 miles of Blackburn, who still carry on a trade of this sort."

II.—Memoir of the Earls of Chester.

By W. Williams Mortimer.

Part II.—The Norman Earls.

In a former volume of the Society's publications,* will be found a brief memoir of the Anglo Saxon princes who held the Lordship of Chester previously to the Conquest. The following is a similar sketch of the Norman Lords, and of the Palatinate Earldom which they held, after their predecessors had been banished or exterminated. Some account of the mode in which the Saxon princes conveyed and granted their lands, may form a suitable introduction.

In the reign of Alfred, a general survey was made of his dominions, the particulars of which are still preserved in the *Great Book of Winchester.* Of its accuracy there is little doubt; and it is quoted in almost every page of the *Domesday Book*, of which it formed the model, but which was not completed until twenty years after the Conquest.

By the fundamental laws of the Saxons, all their lands were subject to the performance of the following duties: I. The erection and upholding of castles. II. The building and maintenance of bridges. III. The military defence of the realm; not under particular leaders, but in general "the expugnation of foreign invaders." The estates were of four great kinds: 1. Thanelands, otherwise Boclands or Charterlands. These, which comprised much of the kingdom, were hereditary, and independent of any superior; so that the owner could freely sell or grant them to others. 2. The Beneficium, granted on condition of military service to some particular chieftain;

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* Vol. ii. p. 215.

this was held either for life or for a definite term. 3. The Folkland, held by the many commoners or yeomanry, was not entirely free or hereditary, but under an obligation to make a fixed annual return of provisions. 4. The Church lands were held under Frank-Almoigne; i. e. without feudal service, but with perpetual prayers and masses for the souls of the grantors and their families. To these may perhaps be added 5, the small plots occupied by the slaves [thralls or bondmen,] and villains [mere villagers], for their support, and with which they were sold.

At the Conquest, these modes of tenure were cancelled by the sword of the Norman; and estates were granted on condition of military service. Each Norman leader received his fief from the king on this condition; and again he infeoffed his own vassals in smaller portions, until the system of subinfeudation was complete.

The City of London and the territory immediately adjacent to the field of Hastings yielded at once to the Conqueror, but this formed not one fourth of the kingdom. Twenty years elapsed, ere all the midland and the great northern Counties had surrendered to his arms. Then, and then only was the Domesday Survey made; with the double object of showing how much had been allotted to his companions in arms, and how much yet remained to be disposed of similarly. But, one of the ancient Saxon kingdoms, Mercia, the Conqueror was unwilling to entrust to any one of his Barons; he therefore divided it into separate portions or counties,—thus destroying the unity which might endanger his throne, and rewarding a greater number of his followers. To some he also gave commissions, granting in perpetuity such lands as might be conquered from the native occupiers, in the "Marcher" counties of England and Wales.

I. The City and County of Chester, (the latter including that part of Lancashire between the Ribble and the Mersey, and also the Hundred of Atiscros in Wales, lying between Chester and the Clwyd,) was granted to Walter de Gherbaud, a Flemish nobleman. His valour at the battle of Hastings, and subsequently against the Saxons and Welsh, obtained for him this reward. Little is known of this Earl, except that the difficulties of his position were great and unceasing. Wearied with the fatigues of warfare, he obtained leave to visit his patrimonial estates in Flanders; when being cast into prison in his native country, the Conqueror resumed possession of his lands in England. The name of Gherbaud is seldom mentioned

in local history, although he was unquestionably the first Norman Earl of Chester; but he must not be confounded with the Palatinate Earls who succeeded him. The difficulties which he had experienced in retaining possession of the territory assigned to him, induced the Conquerer to erect Chester into a County Palatine, giving to its holder "a fullness of power previously unknown in these realms; such a Sovereign jurisdiction that the ancient earls kept their own Parliaments, and had their own Courts of Law, in which any offence against the dignity of the sword of Chester was as cognizable as the like offence would have been at Westminster against the dignity of the Royal Crown; "for William" adds Pennant "allowed Lupus to hold this County *tam libere ad Gladium sicut ipse Rex tenebat Angliam ad Coronam.*" The Palatinate Lords might pardon treason, murders and felonies, they appointed justices and judges, and were as absolute in their own county, as the king in his own palace, whence says Blackstone, "Counties Palatine are so called a *pallatio.*"*

These privileges were granted to the counties of Chester and of Durham "as bordering upon the inimical countries of Wales and Scotland in order that the people having justice administered at home, might not leave the county exposed by absence to the enemies' incursions; and that the owner by so large authority might be more watchful and act with greater efficacy in its defence."

II. All these privileges were by the Conqueror conferred on his nephew Hugh Lupus, son of Richard Goss, Earl of Avranche, Auranges or Abrancis, and Viscount of Armorica, by Margaret, the daughter of Harlowin a Norman of rank. Harlett the mother of Margaret was the daughter of a respectable skinner of Valois; she had had, previously to her marriage, an intrigue with the Duke, Robert of Normandy, surnamed the Magnificent, as likewise from his violent temper and disposition, Robert le Diable. This eventuated in the birth of an illegitimate son, William, who succeeded to the Dukedom of Normandy, and is better known in English history as William the Conqueror. His nephew Hugh, the son of Richard Goss, was at the conquest rewarded with the manor and castle of Tutbury and lands adjacent, for the great bravery he had evinced in many encounters with the English, in all of which his daring courage and ferocity amply confirmed the propriety

* But there are several other etymologies of this word. See Spenser's Ireland, apud Todd, v. viii. p. 334, and Bracton.

of the surname he had previously acquired, of Lupus or the wolf, by which he is so well known in our local history.

To maintain the state and dignity of the Earldom, Hugh Lupus was invested with immense estates in different parts of the kingdom. The city and castle of Chester with the whole of the county which did not appertain to the Church, was conferred upon him, or his immediate retainers; he himself holding in demesne no fewer than forty-eight entire townships. His other properties extended into the counties of York, Lincoln, Norfolk, Suffolk, Huntingdon, Oxford, Northampton, Derby, Notts, Rutland, Berks, Buckingham, Warwick, Salop, Gloucester, Hants, Dorset, Somerset, and Devon. After Hugh Lupus's investment in 1070, he restored the city walls, enlarged the fortifications, subdued the Welsh, and reduced the entire county of Flint under the sword of Chester. He also appointed great officers of his state and household; and nominated several of his principal Barons* to aid him in the government of his extensive territory.

The Normans partook largely of one feeling at this period, which was that scarcely any christian virtue exceeded that of the building and endowment of churches and religious houses. Many of them, therefore, founded or extended monasteries, as they believed their end approaching, and Hugh Lupus among the number. A monastery had existed for centuries at Chester, the foundation of which was attributed by tradition to Wulpherus King of Mercia, for the reception of his daughter Werburgh, afterwards patron saint of Chester, and such as chose to join her. After undergoing various changes, its previous inmates were dispossessed by Lupus in the sixth year of William Rufus. He was then suffering from severe illness; his endowments were upon a magnificent scale. The new foundation was transferred to Monks of the regular order of St. Benedict, and Anselm, Abbot of Bec in Normandy, who died in 1105, became its first Abbot. Hugh died in 1101.

Historians have differed much respecting the character of Lupus. By some he is represented as an active and prudent prince, especially in his early days, but toward the close of his life he sunk into voluptuousness. By others he is represented as prodigal, vain, ungodly, an epicure and sensualist. His numerous severities practised on the Welsh were retaliated by contemptuous names derived from his personal appearance, as Hugh Fràs,

* See Appendix to this Paper.

(Hugh the fat,) or Hugh Dirgane, (Hugh the Gross.) His wife was Ermentrude, daughter of Hugh de Clerimont, Earl of Beauvais, in France. By her he had only one son.

III. RICHARD, son of Hugh Lupus, succeeded at the age of seven years. It is not known with certainty how the Palatinate was regulated during his minority, nor indeed till the time of Earl Randall, but there is reason to suppose that he was under the guardianship of his mother. In 1119 he married Maude, the daughter of Stephen de Blois, son-in-law of the Conqueror, and in a few weeks afterwards, returning to England with his bride, accompanied by two of the sons and one daughter of Henry I, and about a hundred and fifty of the young nobility of England and Normandy, he suffered shipwreck; and all save one of the crew were drowned. The old chroniclers relate the details, that the King's ship sailed first and arrived in safety, but that the crew of the Prince's ship had been intoxicated with part of three hogsheads of wine, and ran their vessel upon some rocks. The historians of the period testify no sorrow for this event, but regard it as "a divine vengeance," "a judgment of God," &c., occurring in a calm sea, in fine weather. The reason is that William, the legitimate heir of Henry I, cherished a spirit of bitter animosity against the Anglo-Saxons, and had been heard to declare that if ever he came to reign over the miserable remnant of that people, he would yoke them like oxen to the plough.

IV. RANDAL DE MESCHINES, Viscount Bayeux next succeeded. He was nephew to Lupus, being son of his sister Maude, by Randal of Meschines, and of Bricasart in Normandy. Of Earl Randal, peaceful in his disposition and domestic in his habits, not one incident is recorded worthy of notice. His name seldom appears after 1119, when he is mentioned as remaining faithful to Henry I, during the disturbances that prevailed in Normandy in that year. He married Lucio the widow of Roger de Romara, by whom he had issue Randal his successor, another son who became Earl of Cambridge, and a daughter. He was liberal in his contributions to the church, and in his donations to his followers.* He

* Among others he gave the manors of Storeton and of Puddington, and the bailiwick of the forest of Wirral to his steward, Alan Sylvestre or Savage. This Alan had a daughter who succeeded to his estates, and conveyed them to one Alexander, who is presumed to have been tutor to the son of Earl Randal, though in some pedigrees he is called steward of the household. Adopting the fashion of the time he assumed the name of his residence—Storeton—which with the wardenship of Wirral forest was confirmed to

died in 1128, after an incumbency of eight years. His wife, now a widow for the third time, gave £266 13s. 4d. for livery of her father's land, and paid a fine of 500 marks, that she might not be compelled to marry within five years.

V. RANDALL the second, generally surnamed de GERNONS—but perhaps, more correctly de Vernon, from the place of his birth—was the son of the first Earl Randall, to whose estates and dignities in England, as well as in Normandy, he succeeded. The influence he derived from the great possessions of his father, was increased by his marriage with Maude, daughter of Robert Earl of Gloucester, natural son of Henry I. He was of a very ambitious disposition, and living in times when political contentions prevailed, he makes a conspicuous figure in the history of that period, in which he was not only one of the most powerful of the Barons, but, decidedly the greatest warrior. United in arms with his father-in-law, Robert of Gloucester, and his half-brother, the Earl of Lincoln, "he made many most notable stirs in this nation." The old historians have left elaborate details of the proceedings of these powerful barons during that "confused alternation and succession of anarchy and tyranny, which the poverty of language compels us to call the reign of Stephen." This monarch had given offence to Randall, by making Henry, son of the King of Scot-

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him by Hugh Cyveliock, afterwards Earl of Chester. Storeton afterwards stiled himself Magister, and his signature as *Mag'tro Alexandro* frequently appears, in numerous deeds, immediately after that of the Sheriff of the County. He had two daughters, by the marriage of one of whom in 1315, to Sir Thomas de Bamville, Storeton was conveyed to him, and afterwards divided between his three grand-daughters co-heiresses. Upon the marriage of Jane or Joan, the eldest, with Sir William Stanley, the first of the name in Wirral, he obtained the bailiwick of the forest and her share of the manor; and having purchased the other shares from her sisters, he assumed the armorial bearings of the Foresters, viz.—*Argent, on a bend azure, three bucks' heads cabossed or*, instead of those previously borne by the Stanleys. His great grandson, Sir William Stanley, Lord of Storeton, who died 21 Richard II, appears from an inquisition to have held the manor from the King as Prince of Chester. Many charters now in Chester shew how much Richard the Second was attached to the capital of his favourite County, which in his greatest extremity furnished him with a body guard of 2000 native archers. In the latter part of his reign, 21 Richard II, cap. 19, the Earldom was erected into a principality. But these proceedings were cancelled by his successor Henry IV, who conferred the Earldom upon his son, creating him Prince of Wales, Duke of Cornwall, and Earl of Chester. This Sir William was the direct ancester of the many noble and distinguished Stanleys who have since occupied so conspicuous a position in the annals of this kingdom. His eldest son married Margaret the daughter and heiress of William de Hotone, from whom is in direct descent the present Sir William Stanley Massey Stanley, Bart., late of Hooton. His second son was Sir John Stanley, Lord Deputy of Ireland and Knight of the Garter, who marrying Isabella the heiress of Latham, became the founder of the ennobled families of Stanley of Knowsley, (Lord Derby,) and of Stanley of Alderley—also of the Stanleys of Ponsonby in Cumberland.

land, Earl of Northumberland, and presenting him with Cumberland, a county which Randall considered his own, as he claimed to be lord of Cumberland and Carlisle. Prevented by the King from attacking Northumberland, on his return to the court of his father, Randall's indignation was roused against Stephen, and he immediately surprised the town and castle of Lincoln, which the King had garrisoned, and took it with all the strongholds in that county.

The two earls of Lincoln and Chester, were in turn besieged in Lincoln by Stephen, but Randall escaping, raised a large force among his own followers in Cheshire and North Wales. Robert of Gloucester, his father-in-law, aided him, and Matilda was proclaimed Queen. The King's troops consisted in a great degree of Flemings; but a battle taking place at Lincoln, on Candlemas-day, 1141, they were forced to flee before the fierce Welshmen, and the king was sent in irons to Bristol, where Matilda was residing.

At this period, Randall was in the zenith of his power; but Gloucester had been made a prisoner, and his liberty was of so great importance to his party, that the king was exchanged for him. During the remainder of his life, Randall was engaged in a continued series of battles with Stephen, attended with very varied success; once fully one-third of the kingdom belonging to himself. In every town and village, the factions of the royalists and imperialists, (as the party of Matilda was called,) had almost daily contests, in which both sides suffered severely. The frequent and long absences of Randall from Cheshire, and the exhaustion of males in fighting his battles, tempted the Welsh to make inroads upon his territories, "making great store of spoil and devastation." Late in life, he was one of those who invited Henry Plantagenet to England. He died in 1152 or 1153, it is generally supposed by poison. He had previously founded Trentham Priory, the Nunnery in Chester, and several other religious houses in Warwick and Lincoln. One of his last acts, was to give to the monastery of St. Werburgh, Chester, the manor and churches of Bromborough and Eastham, as a recompense for injuries which he had done to the brotherhood. And to procure the removal of a sentence of excommunication which had been pronounced by Walter, Bishop of Lichfield, against the Earl, his widow and son, shortly after his death, transferred the manor of Styshall, with other lands in Warwickshire, to the Bishop.

VI. Hugh the second, surnamed Cyvelock, from having been born in the Commote* of that name in Powysland, succeeded as sixth Earl. He possessed, we are told, the valour and fortitude of his father, but was greatly inferior to him in wisdom and in the control of his passions. He wrested from the Welsh, and retained in his own hands, much of the land about Bromfield and the neighbourhood. At this time, when the Welsh, confined within their mountain fastnesses, were no longer a source of terror to the English, when the vast possessions of the British monarch in France were not disputed, when Scotland no longer threatened the border frontiers with invasion, and in England all was peaceable except one or two of his own turbulent Barons, Henry II appeared at the height of his prosperity. But by the evil disposition of his Queen instigating his three sons, then mere boys, a powerful conspiracy was formed against him. The flames of civil discord broke out in all directions. The powerful Earl of Chester, "William the Lion" King of Scotland, and the Earl of Leicester led their forces against the King, and were at first eminently successful both in England and France. But a reverse occurring, Earl Hugh fell into the hands of the King, at the castle of Dole, in 1173; and the King of Scotland being taken, peace was soon established. The three young princes were pardoned, with the most of their allies, but the three principal conspirators were to be treated with separately. William the Lion and the Earl of Leicester easily made terms; but it was only in 1178, that Henry restored to Hugh his liberty and estates, on the earnest entreaty of his friends. "Being taught by his folly to be more wise," says Webb, he retired to Chester, where he was buried in 1181. He also was liberal to the church. He added to the endowment of Trentham Abbey; and confirmed the manor and village of Greasby to the Abbey of Chester.†

VII. Randall the third, surnamed Blundeville,‡ succeeded his father, and held the earldom during the long period of fifty-one years. He was the principal adviser of four English monarchs, (Henry II, Richard I,

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* Part of a shire, hundred, or cantred, containing fifty villages.—*Bailey.*

† As a witness to a deed, granting the church of Prestbury to this Abbey, the name of Gilberto *filio* Pincernæ appears. Robert the father of this Gilbert was Robert le Pincerna, or Butler, which name he assumed from his office; he was the ancestor of the Butlers or Botelers of Amounderness and Bewsey. Several families branching from him are extinct,—as Boteler of Teston, a baronet "of that right worshipful and ancient family," as Philipot the deputy of Camden calls them. Sir Philip Boteler the last Baronet, died in 1772. He bore for Arms, arg. on a chief az. three cups or.

‡ From *Album Monasterium*, i.e. Blondeville, (modern Oswestry).

John, and Henry III), and all writers agree in considering him one of the principal barons of England, not only in prowess, but in wisdom and prudence. He was called Randall the Good, from his benevolence; but partaking of the feelings of the period he entered the lists of the crusaders at an advanced period of life, with a degree of fury and fervour which fanaticism only could inspire. He attained great celebrity, and Robert Langland or John Malvern gives a curious illustration of the Earl's notoriety in song at the time when he wrote. An ignorant monk, attempting to chaunt mass, pleads as an excuse for his inability to perform it:—

> "I cannot the Pater Noster as the priest it syngethe,
> But I can Rimes of Robin Hood, and of *Randall of Chester*,
> But of our Lord and Ladye, I lerne nothing at all."

The first twenty years of this earldom present little worthy of notice. He was in arms in 1194, to aid in the liberation of Cœur de Lion from imprisonment; and the known designs of Llewellyn, Prince of Wales, to attain the independence of his country, kept the border or marches in a state of perpetual excitement. Amid the changes of the period, the alliances and hostilities, the varying friendships and treaties, Earl Randall appears to have acted with firmness and consistency.

The Earl of Chester was one of those who had been instrumental in procuring the elevation of King Henry III., who was crowned in 1216, at the age of nine years, and in the divided condition of the nation and weakness of the crown, Llewellyn attempted to attain his object, but mainly in consequence of the faithlessness of the English barons in alliance with him, he was defeated. The victory in which the young King broke the forces of his rebellious barons is quaintly called "the fair of Lincoln," and took place in May, 1217. The earl of Chester was then Regent; and next to the security of the nation, he sought that of his own territories. The devastations of the Welsh extended to almost every village and town on the borders; they were witnessed often from the walls of Chester; and the suburb of Handbridge, on the opposite side of the Dee, was thence called *Treboth*, or the burnt town. In September, 1217, Randall took advantage of a treaty that had been made with Llewellyn, and went to the crusades. On his return he made grants to several religious establishments. The Cistercian monks of Poulton were transferred to the Abbey of Dieulacres, in Staffordshire, which he had first founded; he erected Beeston and other castles, which were to be supported

by tolls on those who passed through his lordships; and he established beacons, as at Everton. His whole life was spent in activity, and nothing was either too difficult for his accomplishment, or too minute for his attention. Alike in his victories and in his government, he was influenced by feelings of pure patriotism.

He was undoubtedly, the first subject in the kingdom, holding the two great earldoms of Chester and Lincoln, and by virtue of his wife Constance, (widow of Geoffrey, son of Henry II.,) the dukedom of Brittany and earldom of Richmond, which she had inherited from her father. He was sheriff of the three shires of Stafford, Salop, and Lancaster, in the two former of which he held large estates by inheritance; and, in consequence of receiving confirmation of lands which his ancestors had held, but which had been forfeited by the defection of Roger de Poictiers—the original grantee,—he became chief lord under the king, of all Lancashire. For the tenure of his lands between the Ribble and the Mersey, he paid annually a goshawk, or fifty shillings into the king's exchequer. Such large possessions gave him great power and influence, so that he sometimes refused to answer the summons of royalty itself.

He died in 1232, at Wallingford, whence his body was removed to Chester for interment. He was twice married, having been divorced from Constance in 1200, and remarried to Clemence, widow of Alan de Dinnan. Some say that he was married a third time; but there is evidence that his second wife survived him. Respecting his private or personal history little is known; but it is inferred that he was small of stature, from a reproachful remark made of him previous to the battle of Lincoln. His vast possessions were divided among his four sisters. Maude, the eldest, who had married David, Earl of Huntingdon, brother to William the Lion, King of Scotland, received Cheshire as her portion. Mabel, married William D'Albiney, Earl of Arundel; and Agnes, Ferrers, Earl of Derby. Avis or Hawes, the youngest, and her brother's favourite, received the earldom of Lincoln, with all his lands in that shire; she married Robert de Quincey, son and heir of the Earl of Winchester.

VIII. JOHN, surnamed the SCOT, son of Maude and David, succeeded as Earl of Huntingdon and Chester. Little is known of him, but it is believed that he spent his time mainly in the improvement of his possessions; and that he was of a peaceful disposition. He at first took part with

the Barons against Henry III., but speedily joined the councils of the monarch—being influenced no doubt by personal attachment as well as by alliance. He was constant in his attendance at the court of the king; and at the marriage of the sovereign, carried one of the swords of state—that of mercy. On this occasion, the great barons of the land had all been summoned to perform the usual offices or duties which had anciently been held by, or were due from their ancestors, at the coronations of the kings.

In the life time of his father, by his desire, he married Helen, a daughter of Llewellyn, Prince of North Wales; the object being to heal the differences which had long existed between the Welsh and the Cestrians. The marriage was not attended with happy results. He had no issue, nor was there any direct or immediate heir to succeed to the earldom; when in 1237, after having held it for only five years, he died and was buried at Chester. It is supposed that he was poisoned, and that by the connivance of his wife.

With him terminated the Palatinate Earldom of Chester, for the King took possession of all the manors and lands which had been held by the Earl, giving in lieu thereof ample domains to his sisters whom he had appointed his coheirs. His widow also received from the king, lands in Northampton, Middlesex, Bedford, and other counties. The rewards or *exchanges* as they have been called, were liberal, the king being "not averse to any, but unwilling that so great an inheritance as the earldom of Chester, should be parcelled out among distaffs."

The widow and children of John le Scott, last Earl of Chester and of Huntingdon, being thus recompensed out of his princely possessions, the honour and dignity of the Earldom were attached to the Crown, and they have since remained a brilliant appendage of the British monarchy, having been uniformly borne by the heir-apparent of these wide-spread realms.

APPENDIX.

THE BARONS OF CHESTER.

Hugh Lupus, anxious to commence the exercise of his almost regal prerogatives in becoming state, nominated several of his principal BARONS, to form a Parliament to aid him in the Government of his extended territory. Their number, exclusive of spiritual peers, was seven or eight; the title of each was hereditary, and it was taken from his chief place of residence. They had ample means to support their dignity. Sir Peter Leycester says, "though inferior in rank, nay in place below all Knights, they had great power and privileges in the county, which then extended over all Flintshire, and the greater part of Denbighshire, and Cærnarvonshire." From them, many of the distinguished families of Cheshire are descended.

1. Foremost in precedence was Neal, Nigel, or Lenoir;—Baron of Halton, Constable and Earl-Marshall of Chester. He possessed consummate skill as a commander, and great bravery as a soldier. In addition to the offices of state entrusted to him, he possessed twenty-seven manors or townships in Cheshire, in one of which he erected a residence and fortification—Halton Castle—the ruins of which still remain. His son William, the second Baron, founded a priory at Runcorn; and his grandson, the third Baron, dying without male issue, his estates were divided between his two daughters. Lenoir, does not appear to have accompanied the Conqueror to England. One of his brothers was the ancestor of the numerous families of Dutton, Aston, Arley, Gerard, and Warburton; his descendants taking their names from their respective properties. The elder daughter of the third Baron, married Eustace Fitzjohn, whose great grandson took the name of Lacy in 1194. on inheriting the possessions of Robert Lacy, lord of Pomfret. Henry de Lacy, the tenth Baron, was high in rank and power, and a great favourite with Edward I. He was Earl of Lincoln, Constable of Chester, Baron of Halton, Pomfret, Blackburnshire, Roos, and Roweynock, and Lord Protector of England. He left only one daughter, sole heiress, at his death in 1310; and she married Thomas Plantagenet, Earl of Leicester and Derby. His widow dying without issue, the Barony of Halton reverted to the crown; and, is since known as the "fee of Halton."

2. Robert de Montalt or Mold, came next. He was Seneschal of Chester, and entrusted with the government of Mold. A strong castle was erected there to protect the Normans from the incursions of the Welsh. Upon the death of Robert, his heirs succeeded till 1327; when the last Baron, dying without issue, bequeathed his estates to Isabella, Queen of England, and John of Eltham, Earl of Cornwall.

3. William de Maldebeng, Malbank, or Nantwich, a near relative of Hugh Lupus, became Baron of Nantwich. He built a castle of great strength at Nantwich, and adopted the name of the place as his surname. It is mentioned in Domesday, that he possessed no fewer than forty-seven manors or townships. His son, who founded Combermere Abbey, gave one-fourth of Nantwich as an endowment; but the male issue failing, the remainder became much divided. Most of it is now held by the Marquis of Cholmondeley and Lord Crewe.

4. Richard Vernon, Baron of Shipbrook. The fifth Baron dying (37 Henry III.) without male issue, his barony became vested in his sisters as co-heiresses, whence it descended to the families of Wilbraham, Stafford, and Littlebury.*

5. Robert Fitzhugh, supposed to have been a natural son of the Earl, was his chief secretary; and though properly Baron of Malpas, is sometimes called Baron of Hawarden. He had thirty-one manors, including Malpas, which he chose for his castle and surname. The lords of Malpas, in common with other powers, possessed that of life and death in their courts; and it would appear from various reasons, that they more frequently exercised it than others. From him are descended the ancestors of the families of Cholmondeley, and the Egertons of Cheshire, Bridgewater, and Wilton.

6. Hamon de Masci, Baron of Dunham, held his barony, under Lupus, by military tenure. The first Baron was a distinguished warrior; and the third founded the priory

* Half of the Baronial Manor was after legal proceedings recovered by an uncle called in the pedigrees "Sir Ralphe the Olde," and "the Old Liver." He is stated to have lived one hundred and fifty years. *See Harl. MSS. 2079 pp. 124-132, and Lysons, Mag. Brit.*

of Birkenhead, about the middle of the twelfth century,—in a portion of the barony of Dunham. It was further endowed by Hamon the fifth Baron, upon the death of whose son, in 1342, without male issue, the barony passed to the ancestor of the present earl of Stamford and Warrington.

7. Gilbert de Venables, a younger brother of the celebrated Earl of Blois, was appointed Baron of Kinderton; and had thirty-seven townships annexed to his dignity. The power of inflicting capital punishment, was exercised by the Barons of Kinderton so lately as 1597; when one Hugh Stringer was tried for murder in the Court Baron, and being convicted was executed. The descendants of this Gilbert are frequently mentioned in the history of English warfare; as at the battle of Shrewsbury* and in the wars of the Roses.† Peter Venables, the last direct male descendant, died at Middlewich in the early part of the last century. The Baroness survived him only a few years, dying in 1717. Various other families, still seated in Staffordshire as well as in Cheshire, are descended from these Barons.

8? To these seven, some add a Baron of Stockport; respecting whom, however, there is great doubt. Camden and Spelman incline to the affirmative; and they are followed by the learned authorities of the Magna Britannica, as well as in some degree countenanced by an ancient painting. Sir Peter Leycester, on the other hand, decides in the negative, and denies the authority of the painting. In the records of Henry III. and Edward II. Stockport is described merely as a manor, and not as a lordship; and the proprietor in a plea, *temp.* Henry VII., only claimed the right of punishing *minor* offences. It is probable therefore that there was not an eighth Baron, of the same rank.

To the above Temporal Barons, Lupus added certain Lords Spiritual. These were as follows:—1. The Bishop of Lichfield, who in 1075 transferred his episcopal seat to Chester, and thenceforward was called Bishop of Chester. 2. The Bishop of Bangor, whose diocese comprised all the lands lying from Chester to the Menai Straits. 3. The Abbot of Chester. 4. The Augustine Prior of Norton. 5. The Benedictine Prior of Birkenhead. 6. The Cistercian Abbot of Stanlaw. 7. The Cistercian Abbot of Combermere. [Some add erroneously—8, the Abbot of Vale Royal.]

It is probable that others still were added to this Parliament, among whom it is allowable to reckon first Lupus's partner, cousin and friend, Robert de Rodelent, who became commander-in-chief of his forces. Under the name of d'Avranches, he was knighted at the court of the Confessor; and retiring to Normandy, he afterwards was one of the companions of the Conqueror. He received certain grants jointly with Lupus, as the right to govern all territories wrested from the Welsh. The whole diocese of Bangor was by him obtained in this way. He built the castle of Rhuddlan, whence he assumed the name "de Rodelent;" and rebuilt that of Deganwy (Dinas Gonway or Conway.) To the monks of Ultica, he gave with other things, the manor, tithes and church of West Kirkby in Wirral, "the church of the Island," (most probably the cell or chantry on Hilbre Island), and the church of St. Peter at Chester. Of two sons, one was drowned, and the other, supposed to be illegitimate, held the manor‡ and church of Thurstanston, from which he assumed his surname.

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* "Where almost all the powers of Cheshire got together,
By Venables (there great,) and Vernon mustered thither."

† "There Dutton, Dutton kills; a Done doth kill a Done;
A Booth, a Booth; and Leigh by Leigh is overthrown;
A Venables against a Venables doth stand,
And Troutbeck fighteth with a Troutbeck hand to hand.
There Molyneux doth make a Molyneux to die,
And Egerton the strength of Egerton doth try.
Oh Cheshire, wert thou mad! of thine own native gore,
So much, until this day, thou never shed'st before,
Above two thousand men upon the earth were thrown,
Of which the greatest part were naturally thine own."

‡ The great grand-daughter of Matthew conveyed the manor, by her marriage, to Patrick of Heswall, High Sheriff of Chester 5 Edward I. Their only daughter married Robert of Whitmore, whose direct descendants remained in uninterrupted possession till 1751, when it became the property of six co-heiresses. Proceedings in Chancery took place, by which the manor and hall of Thurstanston were settled in 1816 upon Mrs. Lucy Brown, of Marchwiel Hall, Co. Denbigh, and at her decease they became the property of their present occupier Colonel Glegg.

SIXTH MEETING.

Collegiate Institution, 1st April, 1852.

DAVID THOM, D.D., Ph.D., Vice-President, in the Chair.

PROCEEDINGS.

The Minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The Certificate of one Candidate for Membership was read for the first time.

The following were duly elected Ordinary Members:—

John G. Jacob, 56, Church Street.
Rev. Thos. Faulkner Lee, M.A., of the Grammar School, Lancaster.
Thomas Symes Warry, Hamilton Square, Birkenhead.

The following DONATIONS to the Society were laid upon the table:—

From the Editor.	Guide to Northern Archæology, by the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries at Copenhagen. Edited by the Rt. Hon. the Earl of Ellesmere, 8vo. 1848.
From Thos. Moore, Sen., Esq.	A Document on the regulation of time in Liverpool.
From the Rev. Dr. Thom.	Fragments of ancient Pottery from Eddisbury Hill in Cheshire.
	Fragments of Bones from the same place.
	A rubbing and drawing of a Coat of Arms, from a brass plate in Tarvin Church, Cheshire.

The following Articles were EXHIBITED:—

By the Rev. John W. Hill, Waverton, Cheshire.	Several impressions of Seals connected with Fountains Abbey.
By Joseph Boult, Esq.	Twelve specimens of a Work on Church Monuments, by Mr. Gibbs of Wigan.
By J. G. Woodhouse, Esq.	An agreement for 500 pipes of Bronte Wine, between Lord Nelson and the Messrs. Woodhouse; the wine to be delivered to His Majesty's ships lying in the Mediterranean. Much of the document was in Nelson's writing, and his signature was "Bronte and Nelson."

By R. H. Brackstone, Esq., of London.	A collection of celts and bronze swords, found in various parts of Ireland.
By Dr. Hume.	Specimens of bones which are found in large quantities, at the caves of Cefn, near St. Asaph.
By Thos. Dorning Hibbert, Esq.	A large collection of letters and other MSS., relating to Lancashire and Cheshire persons and places; most of them of the time of James I., Charles I. and Charles II. They had come into his hands in a direct line from the original possessors. Several interesting passages were read.

Miscellaneous Communications.

1. Dr. Thom explained that the drawing and rubbing just presented by him, both referred to the engraving on a brass plate, inserted in the wall, at the south-east end of the Chancel of Tarvin Church. The plate was erected in memory of Henry Hardeware, who died in 1584, apparently at or near the period of his decease. Mr. Hardeware, who had held high civic offices in Chester, appears to have spent the latter portion of his life in the country. The arms, which are found on the plate along with his own, are those of the city of Chester; not dimidiated but entire. The pointed sword is interposed between the two upper garbs, and the hilt is inserted in the lowest or central one. The drawing was made by Mr George Charles, late of Tarporley.

2. Dr. Thom having heard of the discovery of burnt bones and pottery at Eddisbury Hill, in the spring of 1851, visited the spot in the autumn, accompanied by some friends. A labourer who had been present at the discovery conducted the party. In a field called the Sand-pit field, occupying the slope of a hill facing the south, was a collection of irregularly shaped stones of various sizes. This was the place where the articles had been discovered. The stones had formed a small arch or vault, under which was the urn, with its contents; and had been thrown together in preparing the field for the crop. The site is about half a mile to the south-east of the cairn of the trigonometrical surveyors; about the same distance from the large farm-house on Eddisbury Hill; and a few perches from the Roman road leading easterly from Chester. The precise spot was in a hollow, midway between two converging ridges. The stones which had covered the urn, were the common sandstone of the district, undressed. One had a very rude resemblance to the human bust; and another had rude carving like the capital W. written across three parallel lines. The urn had been broken when found; but portions of it and of the bones were strewed about. The former is of coarse baked clay, slightly indented; the latter seem to have been subjected to the action of fire. From a large fragment of the urn preserved by Mr. Dean of the adjoining farm house, it appears to have been nine or ten inches in diameter and four or five deep. Below

the rim, on the outer side, was an ornamental border of about two inches deep, consisting of alternate white and black squares.

3. In reference to the document exhibited by Mr. Woodhouse, a letter from which the following are extracts, was received a few days after the meeting. It is written by Mr. James Boardman of Aigburth. "I was on a visit to the late Mr. John Woodhouse at Marsala, during the vintage of 1814, and as you may suppose, wine was the theme of our conversation. I remember my kind host telling me of Nelson's purchases, and how the wine in question came to bear the name of Bronte. When Nelson was signing the order for the fleet, he said, 'Woodhouse, let the wine be good, for my brave fellows deserve a good glass; and let me have a few pipes for friends at home.' Mr. W. promised to do his best, but added, 'it wants a name, and nothing goes down in London without a fine name.' 'Well,' replied the hero in his own way, 'd—n it, call it *Bronte* after my new estate.' 'A good name too,' said Mr. W., 'but Bronte is a *nut* and not a *wine* district.' 'Don't mind that,' said Nelson, 'what do the folks in England know of Bronte? Let it be *Bronte*.' * * The wines of the Messrs. Woodhouse are the production of the Marsala and Mazzara districts, at the west end of Sicily."

4. Fountains Abbey, to which the seals exhibited refer, is still standing, in ruins. It is in Skeldale, in the county of York, about three miles south-west of Ripon. It was founded in 1132, by Thurstan Archbishop of York, for the support of thirteen monks, (originally sent from St. Mary's Abbey, York,) in a more austere mode of living. At first their means were so limited that they were obliged to lodge under the shadow of a large tree; but connecting themselves with the Cistercian order, the community at length rose to great wealth. At the dissolution, temp. Henry VIII., the yearly rent of their lands was £1073.

5. A communication having been read, from John F. Marsh, Esq., Town Clerk of Warrington, inviting—in his own name and that of some other gentlemen—the whole Society to meet at Warrington on the 7th of May, along with deputations from certain other societies, to examine the local antiquities;—

Resolved,—That the best thanks of the Society be given through Mr. Marsh, to the gentlemen at Warrington, and that the invitation be accepted.

PAPER.

Traces of the Britons, Saxons, and Danes in the Foreland of the Fylde.

By the Rev. Wm. Thornber, A.B., Blackpool.

At the close of a fine day, some weeks ago, I found myself after a pleasant walk on the height of Beryl, the highest hill on that range of cliffs, which defend the Foreland of the Fylde towards the north of Blackpool,

from the ravages of the Irish sea. The sun was just dipping, in the royal majesty of purple and gold, his splendid orb into its watery bed, and the gloom and chill of evening were fast dispelling that rosy brightness in the west, the harbinger of fine weather. A broad expanse of water lay before me, unruffled by a breath of wind, of glassy brightness, and glittering as a mirror. All nature was solemn, even the plaintive wail of the sea-fowl was hushed; whilst the gentle murmur of the flowing tide and the music of the waves, shoaling among the pebbles on the beach, broke harmoniously on the ear. The mind loves to contemplate on such an evening—mine was turned inward upon itself, and as its mood grew more and more congenial, both ear and eye administered to its pensiveness. The sea before me spoke of immortality, "from age to age enduring and unchanged;" whilst the landscape behind, that told of change, excited thoughts and feelings full of charming sadness. "The Britons, the Romans, the Saxons, the Danes, and the Normans"—soliloquised I—"have looked upon thee, as I do now —hoary yet young, restless yet unwearied, marked with a thousand furrows yet unwrinkled. Incomprehensible, multitudinous sea, thou hast been a wonder to many races. Nor dost thou alone seem to speak of immortality: yonder broken, fractured coast of Wales on the south with its gorgeous hills, towering one above another; that land of Furness on the north, backed by the heights of Cumberland, the craggs of Lancashire, and the mountain fastnesses of Westmoreland, as well as those seven pinnacles of the Isle of Man, still appear at this distance to retain their bold outlines, presenting the same beautiful lineaments, which they did in ages by-gone. Can familiarity with such a scene ever render man insensible to its grandeur? The peasant of Switzerland regards with indifference the mountain glaciers, those vast piles of eternal ice, which fill and glaze the immense chasms between the summits of the Alps; yet they are amongst the most sublime and terrific phenomena of nature. Indignantly for myself I rejected such a thought; but, in my earnestness I had turned round, and a glimpse of the landscape suggested in a moment the sobering fact of my own weakness—I too might change. Still there were features, which the painted Briton might have recognized. The longitudinal ridge of the English Apennines, that once by its battlements of hills, separated the Brigantes from the Sistantii, elevated as of old the peaked vertebræ of its huge backbone, and poured its rivers with the same short precipitous descent into the sea, and a constant succession of tame, unbroken slopes, scarcely ever ex-

panding into a single majestic hill, still swelled in tiresome continuity of lengthened ridges; but the woods and forests were gone—the trackless moss of Marton, and the level flat of Thornton Marsh waved with corn-fields —the Hawes of Layton and Rossal displayed towns and comfortable homesteads—stately churches reared their heads, and cultivation had converted into meadows, the unwholesome sites of swampy morasses, meres, tarns, laches, and dubs. "Ah!" asked I aloud, "who has wrought these wonders —made the desert to blossom as a rose?"

That night I commenced a short history of the changes, which this remote section of our island has undergone, as well as some account of the different races of the people who effected them. Let me, however, at the outset crave your indulgence—my task is no light one, and to fulfil it, I must summon to my aid, ancient documents, much reading, conjecture, and tradition.

> "Tradition! oh! tradition! thou of the seraph tongue,
> The ark that links two ages, the ancient and the young."

It lies not within my province to speak much of the vast geological changes which have taken place in the district of the Foreland of the Fylde; but a slight epitome will, I trust, be pardoned. At a period called by Lyall the Newer Pliocene, the waves which now wash the beach of Blackpool must have hurled their fury against the foot of the English Apennines, the intermediate country being the bed of the sea. From some cause, it is clear, that there has been an elevation of the deposit of the basin, which now forms betwen the Ribble and the Wyre the segment of a circle. The water-worn appearance of the Apennine rocks, attested by the late Mr. Gilbertson, of Preston—the number of marine shells found in the sand, gravel, and marl, identical with those on the shore, and each species corresponding in number with those now found, those which are rare in the marl, still rare in the waters, and those which are abundant, still scattered profusely over the sands, unmistakably declare, that this tract of land was at some remote period a domain of the briny deep. From facts too numerous for me to narrate, it would appear, that the matter which composed the basin had been deposited, in a long course of years, by a slow and gentle action of the waters, as we may gather from the shells contained therein, not being much detrited—a great number of them perforated by carnivorous molluscs, and some few bearing the impression of marine plants. The deposit is also varied: at one time the sea having been surcharged with one kind of matter, at

another by another kind, of different colour and quality, now depositing laminæ of blue silt on a bed of deep marl, then sand intermixed with beds of gravel, and boulders transferred chiefly from the rocks of the north, or from Ireland.

Great changes have also occurred at the estuaries of the Ribble and Wyre, which make it manifest, especially at the former, that the sea is restoring the domain, which it had usurped. Long ago, it left Marton after destroying its forest, now called Marton Moss, leaving, however, the mere as a memorial of its occupation; the Hawes and Blowing Sands are cultivated fields, and the Horse Bank, with Waddum Thorp, overwhelmed by the sea in the reign of James the First, are again becoming dry land by its channel rapidly retreating to the west. But it is to the Wyre that I would draw your attention. There is reason to conjecture, that of yore Morecambe Bay was a large inland lake, even covering and including the site of Thornton Marsh, which lake was defended from the waves of the sea by a tongue of land defined by the subterranean forest that may be seen opposite Cleavleys, and which emptied itself into the ocean by two or more outlets. This is borne out by facts. Look at the vast sandbank called North Wharf, stretching out from Rossal Point, and left bare at low water for many a mile —trace the blocks of rocks in the sands, known by the names of "Rossal Gentlemen," running across the estuary and marking a line by their tall and singular shapes—observe the shallowness of the water, where once was the barrier between the lake and the sea, and then say, after you have read what West and Close affirm concerning the inroads of the wave on the Furness coast—whether there be no truth in the conjecture that Morecambe Bay was once an inland lake, destroyed in the prehistoric ages, and a portion of its basin gradually filled up by the detritus of the Apennines and the sand of the sea, the one being charged with the horns of deer, and the other with shells. And the same agents of destruction are at work at this day. Singleton Thorp, overwhelmed during the reign of Philip and Mary, only records the name of the old lords of Thornton; whilst the skier,* or stone-reef, once its site, speaks of its desolation, and two large rocks, Higher and Lower Gingle, point us to the two mansions of the same name, which the

* These huge singularly shaped red sand blocks fall from the marl cliffs, being formed thereon by water, which impregnated with calcide of lime and oxyde of iron petrifies, as it percolates, sand, stones, or other materials to which it has affinity. The vast inroad of the sea on the land is attested by these rocks being found at the utmost verge of the retiring wave.

Singletons afterwards erected on their estate at Whitingham, in the parish of Kirkham. The hostel of Pennystone also is no more; so the wanderer on the shore need not expect his *penny* pot of ale; nay, is debarred by a surrounding pool from mounting the rocky seat, to which the thirsty horseman formerly fastened his steed. Of these, tradition often speaks, and hands down the incidents of the fury of the storm that desolated the coast by the effects it had on the stones, which now stud its sands—"Penny stood, Carling fled, Redbank ran away."

It is fruitless to conjecture at what period the Fylde was first occupied; this we may say, that the colonists, advancing from the south, would necessarily expend years in cutting their way through forests and wading over morasses, before they penetrated the tract of land, afterwards named the territory of the Sistantii. When, however, they had settled themselves in the southern parts, we may conceive that the adventurers, first to pioneer the recesses of the Fylde, would be herdsmen, sent by their chiefs in search of pasture along the fertile hills of the Ribble and Wyre. Thus from Ribchester and Penwortham, they would advance to the heights of Kirkham where, without any doubt, as reliques attest, was established, in process of time, a British station. From this ancient seat, excursions would be made, and, as suitable situations were found, habitations erected upon them. When the Brigantes conquered the Sistantii, a short time before the invasion of the Romans, the number of settlers would be increased, and, perhaps for the first time, the swampy recesses of the forests and the islands of the marshes, such as Midgeland and Stockindale in Marton, would be occupied as asylums from the attack of merciless foes. These in return were compelled to submit to the Romans under Cerealis, whereon the Sistantii were for a season freed from their dominion; but this exemption continued not long; for Agricola, in his second campaign, attacked them among their estuaries and woods so strenuously, that the Sistantii were compelled to yield. This was in the summer of 79, and it appears that the general himself led the main body of his army among the estuaries, from the words "œstuaria" and "ipse" being connected, whilst his smaller detachments scoured the woods, &c. that flanked him on his march. But Agricola knew not only how to conquer, but how to retain his conquests. Such a general, therefore, would not fail to maintain his position by erecting stations, and that which had induced the Britons to select, induced the Romans to retain. Moreover, as roads would be as necessary as stations, he especially,

if the Sistantian Port were either on the Ribble or Wyre, would not be long before he ran them through the Fylde in the manner, which my other papers have described; and to the more northerly roads probably Galgacus refers, when in the year 84, he tells us, that the conquerors—"Corpora ipsa, ac manus sylvis ac paludibus emuniendis—conterunt."

I cannot possitively assert that the urns, skin-boats,* celts, amulets, &c., etched by your society and found at Kirkham and throughout the Fylde, belonged to the Britons prior to their subjection. Kirkham was evidently their chief town, and its inhabitants must have been rude; nor will I say with the Rev. Mr. Whitaker, of Manchester, that a great trade was transacted from and to the Sistantian Port, this I know, that the Phœnicians might descry our coast without the aid of a glass on their voyages to Anglesea, for on a fine day from Blackpool beach, I can see the straits which separate the island Mona Taciti from the main land; neither will I guess, that they grew barley, Gallic red and white wheat, &c., which they ground in such querns, as that in the possession of the late Dr. Moore, or brewed old October —curmi; one thing I may perfectly assert on the authority of Cæsar, that whilst those who lived in the interior, occupied themselves in the chase, those on the coast cultivated the land.

The Romans,† however, notwithstanding their thirst for conquest, introduced the arts of civilized life. Under their rule a new order of things commenced, and we begin to know something of the Britons. Tacitus speaking of the Brigantes, says "Civitas numerosissima provinciæ totius," and Palgrave asserts that the Britons were populous from Dumbarton, the metropolis of Strathclyde to the south bank of the Ribble. Indeed about two or three centuries after the Christian era, a change took place in the north of Britain; those who formerly occupied the midland of Scotland, betook themselves to the south, where they formed the above-named kingdom, which lasted from the fourth to the tenth century; but there also was another formed by Cymri in Cumberland and the adjacent districts, called the

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* Last August another bronze instrument was found by the Rev. Mr. Banister, a foot above the clay beneath an 8½ feet deposit of peat, and within 20 yards of the spot of the fluted celt of Pilling Moss. It is in the shape of a laurel leaf—its length with the spike being 6½ inches, the greatest breadth 1 7/10 inch, and its thickness that of a penny in the centre, but tapering to a very thin edge at both sides. The point is rounded and as sharp as a razor.

† In September, 1852, a silver denarius of Faustina was discovered at the commencement of the Danes' pad on Stalmine moss. At the Poulton Breck railway station another of Domitian was found; though much corroded, the DOM was plain.

kingdom of the Cumbrians. Such being the case, we may expect to meet with British traces in permanent objects, customs, &c., and we are not disappointed. In Rossal and Kilgrimol, the districts on the estuaries of the Wyre and Ribble, we meet with names of British signification; the 'cambe' in Morecambe we still retain, when we say, that a man with crooked shanks has *game* legs. But the appellatives of rivers on account of their running through long tracts of countries, are more likely to preserve their primitive names than towns or hamlets, which are circumscribed in their locality. Thus the river Levens, I am told in Ord's Cleaveland, is a pure British word signifying, the Queen of Heaven; so also in Wyre, Savok, and Belisama, we find traces of the same people; yes, in the name of Belisama, although Dr. Bell's* mode of slighting the Ribble, has almost as much startled me as his assumption, that few persons can now be found to assert that language is the gift of God. But I myself must be careful, lest, in attempting to prove that Belisama, the Ribble, signifies the Queen of Heaven—the moon, and that Minerva is a personification of her, I also become liable to the charge of presuming to deify a crotchet of my own fancy. Camden tells us, that the Wharf was worshipped under the name Verbeia, and Whitaker, the Lune under that of Iaolanus, both grounding their belief, on altars found dedicated to these local deities. I believe that Ribble was honoured with the name of Minerva Belisama.

I need not say that rivers were worshipped in Britain from the earliest times, to so late a period as to be forbidden in the 16th of the canons made in the reign of Edgar, 960, and also in the canons of St. Anselm, A.D. 1102. If such was the case in the days of Christianity, we must not object to it in the times of pagan ignorance.

When men fell away from the worship of the true God to Sabæanism, they first regarded the sun and moon as possessing intelligences suited to become mediators between them and their creator; but perceiving that these luminaries were invisible for certain hours out of the twenty-four, they formed images, or fixed upon natural objects as their representatives—most frequently rivers or fountains. Now the worship of the moon was more extensive and more famous than that of the sun, and strange to say, she was adored as a male. One title given to her was, Bel, or Lord of Moist-

* Dr. Bell calls the god Bela, great northern river deity. At the source of the Seine he informs us that the ruins of a temple to the goddess Sequana have been found.

ures, and we are told by the author of the Life of Caracalla, who came to Carha on his birthday, in honour of the god Lunus, and in *whose time the temple of Minerva* was rebuilt at Ribchester, "that they who called the moon by a feminine name, and considered her as a woman would always be subject to female command; but that they who thought the moon a male god, should have dominion over women and not be subject to their intrigues." Thus much have I said, that you may not be startled to find the name of the goddess Minerva coupled with the masculine title Bel; although I shall have to show by-and-by, that the moon was conjointly worshipped with the sun as a female, thus as Semen, or Bel and Sema, husband and wife, mythologically personifying material nature. But whence make you sama the moon? Four lines from the Puranas of India will suffice.

> Sama the eldest son of Atri.
> Was the moon in human shape,
> Was a portion and form of Brahma,
> To whom the sacred isles in the west were allotted.

Let us now advance another step. The Greeks and the Romans were anxious to recognize their own deities in those of India and Egypt, because they were more ancient; so finding, in no single god of their own, the attributes of the sun, i.e. Belinus, Baal, Bel, Beel-samen, the mythologists, by their own philosophical or poetical process, appear to have elaborated from this Lord of the Sabæan idolatry both Jupiter and Apollo, the former as the king of heaven, the latter as the local deity of the sun. And this is accounted for apart from the sophistries of scholastic learning, when we recollect that the sun and king of heaven were the same at Babylon—but among the Greeks supposed to be separate existence. In the Orphic Hymn, Jove is invoked as a multiform deity, and we need not, therefore, be surprised at the dedicatory title Apollino Belino; for Herodian says, "some call the deity Apollo, which we call Belin"; thus in London the name is retained in Belin's-gate, *(Billingsgate)*. As they treated the gods, so they did the goddesses. The moon, therefore, was represented either by Diana, Juno, Venus, or Minerva, just according to the personification they wished to attribute to her. Cæsar, speaking of the gods and goddesses whom the Gauls worship, translates the Gallic Belisama by the term Minerva, "Deum maxime Mercurium colunt, post hunc Apollinem, et Martem, et Jovem, et Minervam," Lib. vi, chap. 16. Here we have the

Britons, for the Celts are of the same race as the Gauls, worshipping Minerva Belisama. Let us seek for such a goddess at Ribchester.

The principal city on the banks of the Ribble (Belisama) in those days was Coccium—Ribchester;—as yet, Preston existed not. Although its ancient grandeur is no more, the constant discoveries of coins, altars, &c. proclaim what it once was. The greatest discovery ever made was that of the ruins of a temple, which, since the digging up of a helmeted head of brass, with a Sphynx for a crest, has been universally pronounced to have been dedicated to Minerva; nay, Whitaker has proved this from a flagstone, which once rested above the main entrance, having on it an inscription, and addressing Minerva as "praep ñ et reg.", which that antiquarian reads "præpotenti numini et reginæ," wondering how she came to the title, having no idea that regina was coupled with Belisama, queen of heaven. Of the two first words praep ñ, I should have wished another interpretation, say, præposito numini; but the difficulty is great, so I must be content. Had the Doctor ever considered the passage of Cæsar above quoted, and known of the ancient stone inscribed to Minerva Belisama, (Boch. Geog. Sac.) he would not have hesitated in allowing to her the title of queen. But I have other proofs to adduce, from altars found at Ribchester, to strengthen my argument. There is one, and there is only another similar in England, dedicated to "Diis Matronibus," and who else can they be, but Juno, Diana, Venus, and Minerva, each a personification of the moon. Moreover, the the altars inscribed to Mars and Apollo are favourable to my hypothesis; for each of these deities is frequently styled Balenus, and I said above, that the sun and moon were jointly worshipped as a female. Nay, in the hymn of Callimachus, Pallas is invoked as synonymous with, i.e., as a personification of the earliest saffron-coloured light of morning, as Dr. Dodd confirms in a note to his translation. "The name of Athene," says that learned but unfortunate annotator, "is derived from the Hebrew Ath and Thene, a serpent or dragon, being known-emblems of light in its darting motion," and two serpents are represented on each side of the face of the helmet discovered at Ribchester.

Nor is the worship of the sun and moon even now forgotten—firmly has it been implanted—ages have not uprooted it—Christianity has not banished it. I myself have seen the Beltain—the fire in honour of the sun, or, as our country people would call it, the Teanla, celebrated on Halloween with blazing fires and leapings through them. I have heard it also asserted by

well accredited men, that only a few years ago the bride and bridegroom, when setting out from Marton to Poulton church, as well as the fishermen on the coast, took all care to bend their steps and to turn their boats, not Weddershins, for that would have been a slighting of Bel; but sunwise, as expecting no happiness, did he not smile upon them; and I have been told again and again by old Mr. Banks, of Blackpool, that when he was young, some eighty years ago, the country folk were wont to boil in milk a yellowish stone—(was it amber?) and on it becoming soft, and the milk cold, to drink it in the face of the sun when he was first seen to rise. These are remarkable facts; but some account of the Teanla, which, on a less scale than formerly, was so lately as last year celebrated in Carlton, in order to defend the corn from darnel, &c., and the herds from disease, must close my remarks on the Fylde Britons.

I am here however met with a denial, that the Beltain and Teanla are the same; because we do not light our fires exactly on any one of the four great festivals of the Druids; but in India, in the ceremonies of the Dermah Rajah, as well as in Wales, the Beltain is observed on the very eve, viz., that of Allhallows, on which the Teanla is observed; or if this be not sufficient, I must lay the fault of the advance of a few weeks on the Romanists, who have adapted the festival to their own purposes; for Gregory, we are told, observing how the converted Pagans clung to their ancient observances, founded christian institutions upon them. Thus the Teanla, by dropping Bel, and adding la, (in Irish, day,) or as I have seen it spelt—low, a blaze, was converted into a ceremony for lighting with torches souls out of prison, whence, a field in Poulton Green was called Purgatory, where on Halloween, the votaries of superstition were wont to run in a circle, not resting from their toil, as long as the priest's ear could distinguish, when applied to the ground, the groans of the sufferers, which vulgar opinion represented as growing less and less, as the zeal of their friends increased.

In different places throughout the Fylde, round cairns of fire-broken stones are still to be seen where the Beltain or Teanla had been observed. Those, however, of Stonyhill, near Blackpool and Hardhorn, (Hordern, from Heord cattle, and Earn cottage, stall &c.,) near Poulton, will be sufficient for me to describe. Of the former, which gave its name to the place, many wonders are spoken. Its antiquity is undoubted from the attempt to account for the fire-broken granite boulders, which cover acres, by naming

the locality as a Danish camp, that it had undergone some volcanic action, or that two fiends, red hot from Tartarus, met here in battle, and using the stones from the shore, battered each other so lustily, that the boulders, heated by their hands, were shivered against their bodies. The round cairn was removed in order to erect on the ground the Lodge of Stonyhill; its broken contents in prodigious numbers are met with in every direction. As at this Teanla cairn, the flocks of the great pasture of the Hawes were blessed, so those of Hardhorn were used for the same purpose; but here adjoining the cairns are attached two wells, the one celebrated as Fairy, or Wrangdomwell, and the other, issuing from a huge oblong mound of stones, as Bel spring, or vulgarly Bull spring, in the Bull meadows, evidently bearing the same name as Beltain meadow in Blackpool. Here on this Hardhorn oblong cairn, ceremonies were observed for the purpose of securing health to the herds of the farmers in the township—to free the wheat-land from tares, weed, &c.—to bring good luck to the votaries, and to enquire into the secrets of futurity. The ceremony was thus:—first, large fires were lighted, two or three families joining at a circular cairn, the ashes of which were carefully collected. Then the white stones, which at first, had circled the fire were thrown into the ashes, and being left all night, were sought for with anxious care at sunrise, when the person who could not distinguish his own particular boulder was considered *fey*, i.e., some misfortune would happen to him, during the course of the ensuing year. As a finale, the stones recognised were thrown, as an offering, on the oblong cairn to the god or saint who presided over it and the well, and thus, such collections were made in a succession of years, as to astonish the curious. The water of the wells also had a sovereign virtue for healing diseases of men and cattle. Fairy well is even yet visited for such a purpose. To succeed in obtaining a cure, however, the patient, escorted by his friends, was made to pass through the cairn, then he was sprinkled or dipped in the well, and lastly, he made an offering of a shell, a pin, a rusty nail, or a rag, but principally three white stones burnt in the Teanla fire. It is surprising in what numbers pieces of iron may be picked up. I have found since the meadows were ploughed, nails, an old shaped knife, leather thongs, &c. The site of the large circular cairn is not now easily to be distinguished, since Mr. Fisher, the proprietor of the field, has carted away upwards of twenty loads of the refuse that composed it, but the soil around is burnt red and black. This farce was carried on in its pristine glory long after the reformation;

for rational Christianity, which had been almost lost previously, progressed but slowly in the district of the Fylde. Even the waters of Marton Mere, which once washed Storeton township, were held sacred, nor need this excite wonder, seeing that the hill of Presal, (the Pressonde of Doomsday), with its well was all but deified; and although the votaries, like those in the pool of Laconia, may not have cast into it cakes of bread-corn to Juno, yet a bush was named "Beggar's bush," from the circumstance of the offerings of rags and clouts being affixed to it, over which a prayer was said; for Bishop Hale ridicules a superstitious prayer for the blessing of clouts for the cure of diseases.

Such were the superstitions of Allhallow's e'en, memorials of Belisama, the worship of the sun and moon, under the Phœnician title of Bel and Samen, and Baal Schamain of the Hebrews, a worship so old, that we only say of the people, who deified the Ribble by its first name, as the Romans afterwards did by that of Minerva, they were of the ancient Celtic stock, and retained, on their arrival in the Foreland of the Fylde, the more recent customs, worship, and characters of oriental antiquity. Nor are many other traces of this idolatory wanting in modern times—the mother attaches to her infant's neck the coral ring—the adder's egg—not thinking the while, that she is performing a Druidical observance—she casts the extracted teeth of her boy, sprinkled with salt into the fire, lest he should have to seek them at the day of judgment, she cuts his hair, &c. under a favourable aspect of the moon. If Hanno, the Carthaginian, said in the Pœnula of Plautus, "O that the good Belsamen may favour them!" and if, according to O'Halloran, the cordial blessing of the Irish peasantry is, "The blessing of Samen and Bel be with you;" we too have heard the passer by express his good wishes to the newly married couple returning from church, "May the sun smile as brightly upon you through life, as it does this day!" Allhallows may be blotted out of the ultra-Protestant's calendar; but in the Allhallow's Church of Bispham and its sacred well in the garden adjoining, we shall have memorials of the former sanctity of the day, so long as one stone remains upon another.

The wrath of the Almighty was ready to burst on the Romans: their legionaries were called home to protect their own city, and the Britons, unable to defend themselves from the inroads of the Picts and Scots, were compelled, about the year 450, to seek the aid of the Saxons who, having found that the country was good and fair, after a long struggle, possessed

themselves of it, and by degrees amalgamating with the natives, imparted to the volatile and vivacious Celts their own sedate and persevering character. At the very outset of the struggle, Hengist and Horsa discomfited the marauders in the country of the Brigantes, compelling them to retreat within their own borders. They themselves, however, were disinclined to quit the country, and, though, after taking possession of Bremotonæcæ, Coccium, Mancunium, and Veratinum, yet nothing could resist the Saxon arms. Even Arthur's battles, three of which, according to Nennius, were fonght upon the river "quod vocatur, Duglas, (Wigan) quod est in regione Linuis" availed only for a period; on, on the strangers advanced, till all England was subdued and the Heptarchy established, of which Northumbria included the Foreland of the Fylde.

The ministers of religion have ever been the media through which the records of history have been transmitted to us. With Christianity came light and light brought knowledge; but of that eventful period I can only speak as far as is necessary to elucidate what I have to relate concerning my own district. Bede informs us, that Columbkill came over from Ireland—and the Irish had held intercourse with the Britons from the end of the Roman era, which fact, in part, accounts for the similarity of our ancient customs with theirs—to preach in Britain, and that many monasteries were established by his missionaries on the coasts of Scotland, Wales, &c. from Iona, and from his eldest one of Dearmach, in Ireland. In 652, Oswald, king of Northumbria, sent for some of the Ecclesiastical followers of Columba to instruct his people, and Aidan of Iona undertook the mission, being succeeded by Finan, of the same sacred shrine, as overseer of the young church. Bede, whilst he tells us that they were "without knowledge," pronounces an eulogium on their character. On the appointment of Colman, the dispute concerning Easter arose to a high pitch; nothing daunted, however, he, aided by Ceadda, pleaded the practice of his predecessors against the Romanists, for whom Wilfrid was speaker, and one of whose arguments was, that all the churches in the world, excepting those of the *Scots, Picts, and Britons* kept Easter at the time fixed by the church.

Thus much have I said in order to connect the cemetery of Kilgrimol, about two miles on the south shore from Blackpool, with the ancient British church. Kills, the ancient names by which the infant establishments of Columba were recognised, had the Culdees for their priests, who, we are told, were the immediate followers of the Druids. The foundation

deed of Lytham priory, of which I shall have much to say, if permitted to continue these papers, as well as the voice of the country, points out a place called Church Slack, or Cross Slack, on the Hawes adjoining the sea shore, as the site of some old sacred building; and the antiquarian Ormerod avers, that the appellative of *Kilgrimol*, indicates there a Culdee establishment of remote antiquity. Others fancy also, that in Killamergh, an adjacent township, they perceive the echo of the same word "kill"; but I rather here prefer "kel," (wood), as we find in the name of Kellet, (at the wood). In describing, however, the boundaries of his new priory, Richard Fitz Roger says, "from the ditch of the *cemetery of Kilgrimol*, over which I have thrown a cross." Thus, it is evident, that he recognized the ground as holy, and erected a memorial of its sanctity on the spot. The ditch and cross have disappeared, either obliterated by the sand, or overwhelmed by the inroads of the sea—but, with tradition the locality is a favourite still; the *superstitio loci* marks the site; "the church," it says, "was swallowed up by an earthquake, together with the Teanla cairns of Stonyhill; but on Christmas eve, every one, since that time, on bending his ear to the ground, may distinguish clearly its bells pealing most merrily." Did indeed the monks, the recluses on this desert spot, entertain the doctrines, the purity of Columba? To us, the disputes about tonsure, Easter, &c. do not appear to have deserved such fierce contentions, yet, centuries elapsed, and still partizanship was continued; one party dedicated at Preston, a church to St. Wilfrid, the champion of the Romanists, the other consecrated another at Poulton to St. Chad, the friend of Colman, and Wilfrid's opponent.

At length, I find myself traversing Amounderness with the first authentic documents that mention it, in my hands, informing me that in the middle of the seventh century, Eata, abbot of Melrose, Scotland, founded a monastery at Rippon, which was subsequently granted by Alfred, king of Northumbria, to the above-named Wilfrid. At its consecration in 705, among other donations of the great Saxon princes, who witnessed the ceremony, lands near Ribble, in Hasmunderness were bestowed on the new foundation.—Mon. Ang. Where was the site of these lands? One antiquarian will guess, that Preston now stands upon them, thus connecting them with its patron saint; but it is even a matter of conjecture, whether the town was in existence. Certainly the church was not, for it would not be dedicated to St. Wilfrid, who was not yet canonized, for canonization re-

quired one hundred years to elapse to test the worthiness of the candidate for saintship. In the next century but one afterwards, the church-building era in the Fylde, we have a most important instrument of Athelstan, giving, A.D., 930, the whole hundred "quod solicolæ Agemunderness vocitant" to the church of York. It is in the bloated style of the Saxon Kings; still, we find from it that Amounderness was not part of the ancient demesnes of the crown, and that the monarch purchased it "propria et non modica pecunia" calling it "prædia * * * * obrizo empta auro." Of whom? His decisive battle of Brunnanburgh, which gave him the kingdom, was not fought till eight years after, and he was not till then sole monarch of England. Alfred, the king of Northumbria had, as we have seen, granted lands in Amounderness to Rippon, so it does not appear unlikely, that Athelstan purchased it of Alfred's or Wilfrid's successors. However this may be, the great price given, proves that the land was comparatively under some cultivation, and if not very populous, yet sufficiently inhabited by people to till the ground, for land would be valueless without serfs. Nor was the Fylde of small account in the bargain, as may be gathered from the fact, that Biscopham, (Bispham), in which parish lies Blackpool, is the only name in the hundred that echoes its ancient episcopal owners. Ask me not why an obscure village does so. Whitaker acknowledges it and wonders. Was the land more fertile here? It contained in the Doomsday Survey, eight car. of land fit for, or under the plough, being actually two more than any other town or hamlet possessed in Amounderness. Might the district steward reside here, or was there erected a church or oratory soon after Athelstan's grant? We have no record of one—the survey is silent—the sweeping charter of Roger of Poictou mentions the rent-charge of ten shillings given by Geoffrey, the sheriff, to God and St. Martin of Sees; but the appropriation of "capella de Biscopham" to the priory of Lancaster is not recorded till 1246. After the grant of Athelstan, no doubt Christianity progressed more favourably, yet with checks at times that threatened its very existence. From some unrecorded cause, the church of York was not in possession of Amounderness at the Norman conquest, either having lost it by escheat, or what is more likely, it had been rendered unproductive by the incessant ravages of the Danes and Norwegian-Danes; for even a very few years after coming into seizure of it, there was an invasion under Anlaf, who entered the Humber with 615 ships, and there united his forces with those of Constantine, his father-in-law, the

Prince of Cumberland. Christianity received a severe blow: according to tradition, a large idol of Woden was set up near Wedicar Hall—mark the name—in the Garstang township of Barnacre with Bonds, and Canute thought it necessary to publish an edict against the worship of the sun and moon, rivers, fountains, &c. Nay, we are told notwithstanding Wilfrid's exertions, and Dunstan's activity, that there was not before the conquest a single monk in all the Northumbrian territory.—Simn Dunelm. But to close this section of my paper, Canute gave Northumbria to the Norwegian jarl Eric, who was succeeded by Siward, immortalized in Macbeth, but, owing to his son Waltheof being too young to govern so important a fief, it was made over to Tosti, the brother of Harold, to whom, at the conquest, under the head of Yorkshire, Amounderness was taxed.

But the Anglo-Saxons enjoyed not their robbery of England in peace, as must already have been observed. At the close of the eighth century, the pirate Danes of the same Teutonic stock began their attacks, ravaging the kingdom, and, for about three hundred years becoming the terror of its inhabitants, especially at the mouths of the rivers, where they moored their ships. If one chief were routed, another sprang forward, more inaccessible to any appeals to the common feelings of humanity, and exulting more ferociously in the work of destruction. To obtain a cessation from these Vikings, who measured their glory in the world to come by the extent of their bloodshed in this, whole territories were ceded by the Saxons. An ever-craving thirst for plunder, however, hurried them on to break every treaty, till at length, to secure safety, the Danes were permitted to intermarry with their families, nay, to connect themselves with the blood royal, and, eventually, for a time to become the sovereigns of Britain. Six years after their arrival, in 787, the whole coast of Northumberland was desolated, and ever afterwards, from local circumstances, especially from Alfred having assigned it to the conquered Dane, Guthrum or Gorm, and to its contiguity to the Norwegian Isle of Man, bore the brunt of innumerable hostile attacks. Language cannot detail what this unhappy country suffered. In 966, Thored, the son of Gunner, plundered Westmoreland, and A.D. 1000, King Ethelred went into Cumberland and nearly laid waste the whole of it with his army, while his navy cruised about Chester with the intention of co-operating with his land forces.—Saxon Chron. Athelstan, to extinguish the spirit of rebellion, had previously marched into Northumbria, where he had fought the above-named battle of Brunnanburgh,

innumerable, as Angle's Holm, Green Holmes, Thornton Holmes, &c.; hoos (hills) are not unfrequent, as Hoohill, (Wheelmill), Greenhalgh, Steno, &c.; then bys, wicks, dales, thorps, tarns, ings and brecks are everywhere, especially on the line of the Danes' pad, as Aggleby, Nateby, Westby, Rigby, and Sourby, Salwick, Elswick, Kirkham, Deepdale, Mythorp, Tarnacre, Staining, Poulton Breck, Norbreck, Warbreck, Larbreck, and Mowbreck, and Lund, (a grove). Nor are Danish appellatives wanting on our estuaries, rivers, and headlands, where we should expect to meet with them. Thus—Bourn, Naze, Neb of the Naze (Nees), Wyre,* (Vigr), Shippool, Skippa (Skibean, ship rivulet); Wall and Waln, as in Wallasea pool, (Vagr a bay). But I shall weary, so let me trace the pirates in an expression used to a friend about to undertake a journey—*farewell, go well* on your cruise—and conclude my account with three memorials of these desperadoes of the deep. In the constant expression, "Go to old Nick," we wish the denounced with Nikka, the Danish river sprite, and in the Euloaves and Yule-candles of Poulton, we see traces of their observance of Christmas; for with them, that festival was celebrated with greater glee than by any other people, therefore it is, that in those parts of the kingdom that endured their sway, the inhabitants have retained more distinctly the ancient memorials of that merry season. But in the curious tradition of the dun cow of Amounderness, I fancy that I catch a glimpse of that mythological creature, the cow Audhumbla, which may have swallowed our friend Tom Thumb; but supporting herself by licking off stones salt and hoar frost, fed by the streams that ran from her four teats, the giant Ymir. "Once upon a time," say our old wives "when all the people of Amounderness were in fear, lest they should perish for want of food; for a famine raged in the land—a cow presented herself amongst them, ready to nourish every family with milk, so long as no vessel was offered, which she could not fill. Envious persons were to be found then, as now, and envy is ever diligent to work mischief. An old witch, after much forethought, accomplished the destruction of the bountiful cow by milking her into a sieve, which, when unable to fill, so grieved the animal, that she wandered sorrowfully away to a hill near Preston, called Cow† Hill to this day, and there died." I have not varnished the story, nor indeed any other of my traditions which I have recorded. They may to many appear

* A stone very near the mouth of this river is called King's skier, *Virkings'* skier.
† One of its huge ribs is exhibited at Grimsargh Hall.

foolish, but they lead to grave reflections not unworthy of the antiquarian, the erudite historian, or the curious inquirer into the vagaries of human nature.

My paper, I fear, has transgressed the ordinary limits, but a few deductions must not be omitted. The very name *Fylde*, mal-treated as the word has been by Danes, Normans, and Antiquarians, indicates the flat marshy peculiarity of the district. Claiming as it does a cognomen from the earliest time, its signification must be sought for in the Saxon tongue, probably provincialised by the Danes from Field into File, Fyle; for in Norway the d in field—a mountain ridge—is almost silent in its pronunciation, thus becoming *fell*. In Pilling, I fancy that I see something like it, and Alfred in his version of Orosius, has on ***pildum lændthum*** in the plural number to denote level countries. This is the proper meaning, however individuals may wish to make it otherwise. Soon after the conquest, in the deeds of Whalley Abbey, referring to Staining Grange, I find ffeld latinized by "Campus," a corn-field, hence the Fylde is now styled the corn-field of Amounderness. To make it "lima", a file, is nonsense. Moreover, if one cast his eye over the Doomsday record, he will see at once, how the predominating names of towns corroborate the signification I have given to the Fylde—Rossal, (ros, a marshy flat), Burne, Mereton, Wideton, &c., he may take as examples. And why is tun the termination of most names of places? Because the high grounds alone were fit for habitations, the low being covered with water, at least in winter, or with swampy morasses. Nor need the etymologist be a geographer to know that the Fylde is on the sea coast—Lidun, Wartun, &c. inform him; nor a farmer, for Lea, Latun, Shaininghe, Cartentun, &c., with their carucates will remind him of the herds that browsed in their pastures and meadows, and the husbandmen, (ceorls), free tenants that followed the plough; nor a builder, for Singleton will tell him, that habitations, superior to hovels of wattles and clay thatched with reeds, even cottages built and tiled with shingles (planks), afforded shelter to their occupiers, from the unwholesome swamps in their vicinity, and a refuge from the fierce blast of the interior sea; nor an ecclesiastic, for in Pres, Chicelram, Michels cherche, and Pressonde, he will distinguish spots sacred, on account of the residence of priests, and the erection of temples for the worship of the only true God. Such were the features which the Foreland of the Fylde represented before the Danes, the great northern insurrection, and the fury of William the Conqueror had made it a desolation so great, that his Survey thus records of Amounderness—"All these villages and three churches belong to Prestune. Of these sixteen (out of sixty) have few inhabitants; but how many inhabitants there may be is not known. The rest are waste. Roger de Poictou had it."

SEVENTH MEETING.

Collegiate Institution, 6th May, 1852.

JAMES KENDRICK, M.D., in the Chair.

PROCEEDINGS.

The Minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

William Ewart, M.P., 6, Cambridge Square, Hyde Park, was duly elected an ordinary member.

The following DONATIONS to the Society were laid upon the table :—

1. From the *Societies*.

Transactions of the Numismatic Society, No. 16.

2. From the *Authors*.

Remarks on some of the Weapons of the Celtic and Teutonic Races; by John Yonge Akerman, Esq., Sec. S.A.

Ancient Halls of Lancashire, by Alfred Rimmer, Esq.

Collectanea Antiqua, vol. ii. part 9, by Chas. Roach Smith, Esq., F.S.A.

An Account of two ancient Chessmen made of jet, found in the Moat Hill near Warrington; by Dr. Kendrick.

3. From *other* Donors.

Robert Rawlinson, Esq.	Report of the General Board of Health, on the Township of Newton Heath, Lancashire.
John Harland, Esq.	Cuttings from the *Manchester Guardian*, on Antiquarian subjects.

John Mather, Esq. — "O ful tru un pertickler okeawnt o Greyt Eggshibishun e Lundun. (A tract in the dialect of Rochdale.)

W. W. Mortimer, Esq. — A volume of Newspapers, the Evening Mail, 1790.

A Report of the Proceedings of the Fifth Session of the British Archæological Association, held at Worcester, 1848,—edited by Alfred John Dunkin, Esq., was received in exchange for the Society's volumes ii. and iii.

The following Articles were EXHIBITED :—

By Wm. Rathbone, Esq., Greenbank. — A silver tankard, presented by Charles II. to a Mr. Wolf of Madely in Shropshire, for secreting him in a barn, after the defeat of the King at Worcester.* This was the last of several articles of plate, presented by the King at the same time; on which occasion he granted him for crest a demi wolf holding a royal crown in its paws. The arms are engraved in front of the tankard, and there is an explanatory inscription on the lid. (See plate.)

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* The following is from "An Account of the Preservation of King Charles II., after the Battle of Worcester, drawn up by himself." The account was dictated by the King to Mr. Samuel Pepys, on Sunday the 3rd and Tuesday the 5th of October, 1680; and the edition from which this is taken is that of 1801, Edinburgh, pp. 17—21.

"We continued our way on to a village upon the Severn, where the fellow [Richard Penderell] told me there was an honest gentleman, one Mr. Woolfe, that lived in that town, where I might be with great safety; for that he had hiding holes for priests. But I would not go in till I knew a little of his mind, whether he would receive so dangerous a guest as me? and therefore stayed in a field, under a hedge, by a great tree, commanding him not to say it was I; but only to ask Mr. Woolfe. whether he would receive an English gentleman, a person of quality, to hide him the next day, till he could travel again by night, for I durst not go but by night.

"Mr. Woolfe, when the country-fellow told him that it was one that had escaped from the battle of Worcester, said, that for his part, it was so dangerous a thing to harbour any body that was known, that he would not venture his neck for any man, unless it were the King himself. Upon which, Richard Penderell, very indiscreetly, and without my leave, told him that it was I. Upon which Mr. Woolfe replied, that he should be very ready to venture all he had in the world to secure me. Upon which, Richard Penderell came and told me what he had done. At which I was a little troubled, but then there was no remedy, the day being just coming on, and I must either venture that or run some greater danger.

"So I came into the house a back way, where I found Mr. Woolfe, an old gentleman, who told me he was very sorry to see me there; because there was two companies of the militia foot, at that time, in arms in the town, and kept a guard to the ferry, to examine every body that came that way, in expectation of catching some that might be making their escape that way; and that he durst not put me into any of the hiding-holes of his house; because they had been discovered, and consequently if any search should be made, they would repair to these holes; and that therefore I had no other

By R. H. Brackstone, Esq., London.	Three large implements of flint, which with a fourth now in the British Museum, were found about 1794 or 1795 in a cave three miles from the sea at the Bay of Honduras, by Captain William Stott of the merchant service. They were procured by Mr. Brackstone from a friend of Mr. Stott's after his decease. They are noticed in the *Archæological Journal* for 1851, p. 422, which states by mistake that they were found in 1810. They are among the largest objects of flint known to exist. Their uses are quite unknown.
By Mr. Garvin, Warrington.	A miniature of the Young Pretender, painted on silver, and found in a common sewer at Chester.
By Jas. Middleton, Esq.	A wheel-lock Gun.
	An Affghan Knife.
	A pair of Pistols in a case, with all the requisite accompaniments. On the inside of the case is inscribed "DONNÈ PAR LE PREMIER CONSUL BONAPARTE, AU GENERAL DE CORDOVA, CHEF D' ESCADRE DE SA MAJESTE CATHOLIQUE AN X DE LA REP: FRANC."

PAPERS.

I.—THE DANES IN LANCASHIRE.

By the late John Just, Esq., Grammar School, Bury.

A victorious people have always had a wide-spreading influence over the people subdued by them; an inferior race never withstood with effect a

way of security but to go into his barn, and there lye behind his corn and hay. So after he had given us some cold meat, that was ready, we, without making any bustle in the house, went and lay in the barn all the next day; when towards evening, his son, who had been prisoner at Shrewsbury, an honest man, was released and came home to his father's house. And as soon as ever it began to be a little darkish, Mr. Woolfe and his son brought us meat into the barn; and there we discoursed with them, whether we might safely get over the Severn into Wales; which they advised me by no means to adventure upon, because of the strict guards that were kept all along the Severn, where any passage could be found, for preventing any body's escaping that way into Wales."

Father Hodlestone, whose grandfather and seven grand-uncles—one of them Sir Wm. Hodlestone—raised two regiments for the King, adds various notes to the present account. He says here, "Mr. Francis Woolfe lived at Madely," [between Wellington and Bridgenorth in Shropshire.] For similar information, see "The civil Warres of Great Britain and Ireland, containing an exact history of their originall progress and happy end," London 1661; "Boscobel, or the compleat history of his Most Gracious Majesty's most miraculous preservation, after the Battle of Worcester," Worcester 1790; and Miss Srtickland's "Historic Scenes and Poetic Fancies."

superior. The very fact that the Danes gained an ascendancy in many parts of England, and thoroughly subjugated others, proves their superiority over the Anglo-Saxons. The indigenous Britons felt the ameliorating influence of Roman superiority, and the civilization which formed an element of the Roman sway. The sturdy Saxon too, after the Roman era, introduced into the country a more improvable character than ever appertained to the Celt. The Anglo-Saxons settled down into a quiet life and more peaceful habits than the feuds of the petty princes and chieftains of the Cymry allowed. Their spirit exhausted itself in the struggles for mastery, and when the octarchy merged into the kingdom of England, the Anglo-Saxon was a plodding, patient, and persevering creature, almost such as we see in the genuine Lancastrian peasant. As the Danes settled down among the Anglo-Saxon population chiefly about the period of the Anglo-Saxon dynasty, their influence was felt, and though evil prevailed at first, the amalgamation ended in good. The Romans were as superior to the aboriginal Britons, as the English of the present time are to the Affghans and Sikhs of India. The Anglo-Saxons, though not so refined as the Romans, were still an improvement upon the Romanized Celts, while the intermixture of Dane and Northman was lastly an advance upon the Anglo-Saxon sluggishness, and an exciting ingredient in the formation of what now constitutes the chivalrous, enterprising, and persevering Englishman.

Leaving to the Danes themselves to tell their own tales in their own way, and perhaps in their own favour more than in strict justice they ought, we undertake a sketch of their connexion with the county of Lancashire, and the effects consequent thereon, as the permanent result of their presence and settlements therein. Hitherto, history has unfolded nothing regarding the date when the "Vik-ings" first visited the Lancastrian coast and plundered the country, slaughtering the inhabitants. As their early visits were limited to the eastern coast, and their depredations commenced about A.D. 787, as recorded in the Saxon Chronicle;* we cannot assign dates to their movements in this quarter, nor discover the year when, for the first time, they landed on the Lancastrian coast. We know that A.D. 894,† the city of Chester fell into their hands under the redoubtable Hastings. This celebrated city, the Danes afterwards fortified, and made it one

* Sax. Chron. 65. † Sax. Chron. 25, 106.

of the chain which connected the west with the east, the Dee and the Mersey with the Humber. The body of the people along with Hastings was chiefly Danish. They had ventured along the southern coast, doubled the Land's End in Cornwall, and harassing, as they proceeded, the Welsh; they took and garrisoned Chester, on their way to the north. Another band down from the Orkneys, and from the rendezvous of the Isle of Man, which they had subdued, made frequent irruptions upon the Lancastrians. These, however, were chiefly Norse. The ancient Dane and the Norse were quite distinct, though often combined in their piratical expeditions. Even yet, the districts where either of the two prevailed, tells its tale in the names of places, persons, and customs which they have left behind them. The history of words implies the usages of people, and oftentimes more clearly points out facts than the obsolete habits, the existence of which they alone recognise and indicate.

When the Danes, whether along with Hastings, and subsequently, or from the Orkneys, Sodorcy and Man, the Norse, invaded the fertile districts of Lancashire—Cumberland and Westmoreland were under the dominion of the Cumrian Britons. On this district the Anglo-Saxons had made aggressions wherever they could. But, mountains to them were insuperable barriers. Only on the other, or western side of Morecambe Bay, had the Anglo-Saxons been able to obtain a footing against, and among the Cumbrians, who, with the absolute hatred with which they regarded the race, retired within their fastnesses, when overcome, and left the domain once and for ever to the successful foe. When King Alfred divided the kingdom into shires, he stepped not over the limits of the Mersey and the Humber. In aftertimes, when Cumberland and Westmoreland were ceded by the Scottish kings to the monarchs of England, the lower part of Furness Fells being of Anglo-Saxon race, was considered as a portion of Lancashire, and as before, so then it became an integral portion of the county of Lancaster. But ere this, the Danes had settled among the Anglo-Saxons, and, these hating those, yielded quiet possession of many districts. Danish names, and Norwegian terms, were imposed upon many a district, residence, and place. Lancashire was divided into hundreds like the Mercian dynasty, of which it had all along felt the influence. We, hence, can assign no period when the subdivision of hundreds took place, but that mentioned by Ingulphus: but we know that the Danish influence at the

time was so great, as to impose its own names on three of the five hundreds which Lancashire comprises. Vid. Ingulp Croy., B. ii, p. 44.

As hundreds were subdivisions in Denmark and France prior to Alfred's time, and Alfred adopted rather than ordained them, we may infer that, ere King Alfred's time, the Danes had obtained within Lancashire, many settlements which are distinguished by Danish names; yet, if we exclude Lancashire altogether from the sphere of his authority, and consider it with many, as a veritable portion of Northumbria—then it was under the jurisdiction of the Denelaga, and the hundreds must have been of Danish introduction. This, however, as will hereafter be seen, indicates a much greater Danish influence than ever prevailed within the county;—even yet, the southern division is more Mercian than Danish in its character. The evidence adduced by names, we will now produce, and assign such reasons as are most apparent.

The northern hundred of the shire is named Lonsdale, in consequence of the vale of the Lune being the head-quarters of the Danes in their settlements. Lonsdale is a true Danish word. The Danes, hence, had so much influence in the northen limit, that they could assign a name of their own to a hundred. Included within this hundred, is the territory across Morecambe Bay, called Lonsdale, north of the sands. Danish influence extended further also, as the sequel will shew. The second hundred, and the one adjoining Lonsdale, is called Amounderness; "ness" is certainly a more common name in Norse and Danish, than in Anglo-Saxon. Yet, as Aymundr or Omundr is a genuine Norse name, it seems more correct to assign the name of this hundred also to the Danes, than to the Anglo-Saxons. Most likely, the "Vik-ing" who first landed thereon was Omundr, and the whole district thence, in Danish parlance, obtained the appellative of Omundr's Promontory, or foreland at the entrance of the great bay.

To the third hundred lying more inland, the name of Blackburnshire, or Blagborne has been given. It seems from the term, first to have had a primary term applied; as if it had been a primary division such as Richmondshire, in Yorkshire, but subsequently fell into a secondary series. As a name it is, like the shire in which one of its titles terminates, wholly Anglo-Saxon. We shall see hereafter, that this part of the county offered no allurements to the Danes, who, as masters, settled down only where houses were built, the country cultivated, and abundance smiled, within a certain distance from the sea, the vast home of the old Vik-ings.

The fourth hundred is that of Salford, also inland and Saxon. Perhaps this hundred includes natives who are less mixed with Scandinavian population than any other in the north of England. As specimens of the Anglo-Saxon breed, that of genuine Mercians, this hundred supplies in the rural districts especially, multitudes of individuals male and female. The broad hulky chest and square shoulders, low broad foreheads, ruddy complexions, and sinewy legs and arms, show the make of the old Mercian; one who, though he might be slow in his movements, and not over ready in his apprehension, yet was difficult to put out of his way if he felt the disinclination. He had a low tower of strength in himself not found in any of his fellows. Only let him fight long enough, and the victory was ever his own.

The fifth and last hundred of the shire has much seacoast, and therefore, came more under Danish inspection. The name of West Derby is Danish, and also the name of the hundred. The Danes, therefore, had been within it, and had the honour of giving it its name. It was far, however, from being so much under Danish influence as the other Danish hundreds; the Danes, as we shall presently see, having limited their visits and settlements to the coast, the interior not being choice enough in condition and other incentives to attract such fastidious choosers, as had all civilized Europe for their selection, and who generally speaking, were capable of securing to themselves their own choice by force of arms.

The renowned Hastings reached Chester on the Wirrall, A.D. 894. After having been driven from pillar to post, and post to pillar throughout most of the southern districts of the kingdom by the hero of the Anglo-Saxons, Alfred himself, Chester fell into Hastings' hands, and he fortified the place. Alfred, however, hunted him out, besieged him in his fortress, and fleeing through North Wales from the victor, he repaired to his ships, and entering the Thames, sailed up past London, and wintered in the heart of the victorious monarch's kingdom. Truly named, Hastings was in haste everywhere, yet everywhere favoured by fortune, that fortune which oftentimes favours the clear head and the valiant right arm.*

We have introduced this digression, because South Lancashire being so near to the chief seat of Danish influence, when they predominated on the western coast, would be likely to be effected by the movements of those restless, and almost everywhere-present marauders. A.D. 910, Edward the

* Sax. Chron. 25, 106. Cam. vol. iii, p. 42.

Elder having defeated the Danes in a great battle at Wodensfield, fortified the confines of Northumbria and Mercia. In Chester, he fortified Chester itself, Runcorn, and Thelwall. In Lancashire, Manchester; showing that in the interior across the Mersey, the Mercians had then territory and influence. We proceed, therefore, with our subject, leaving open to inference, that the West Derby hundred was known and partially occupied ere this period, by the off-shoots of the great Danish movement under Hastings, and most likely, in many and minor ways and occasions by other adventurers from the kingdom-seeking sons of the north. Our first investigation will be confined to the hundred of West Derby, and to the evidence of local names within the same.

The word *by* is well known to be Danish, and especially of that section of the invaders who left the confines of Denmark, properly so called. Our English word *by*, as a suffix in the names of places, is derived from this word. *By*, means a fixed residence, and is exactly synonymous with the Anglo-Saxon, "bidan," to stay or abide, whence the modern English word "abode" has descended. Before the admixture of Danes and Norse among the Saxons, the Anglo-Saxon tongue had no such word in its vocabulary; all names of places then terminating in *by*, are as undoubtedly of Danish origin as Danemark itself is of the Danish occupation. West Derby then is of truly Danish derivation. The Danes settled at the place, and imposed the name of the spot, and thence from their greater jurisdiction there than elsewhere, it was transferred to the whole hundred. West Derby implies an East Derby, and Derbyshire sprung from that Derby, also indicates the superiority of the place in the terms we are describing. What East Derby then was to Derbyshire, West Derby was to the Derby hundred within the shire of Lancaster.

It was not so much owing to any inferiority in the warlike qualities of the Anglo-Saxons, that the Danes gained so frequently the mastery over them, as to the influence of Christianity. Just as Christianity by its reflex-influence prepared the way for the overthrow of the greatest and the last of all the vast empires that the world has ever seen or history recorded, viz.,—the Roman; so had a like feeling pervaded England, when the pagan Danes fell upon it. Then, ambition connected with talent and worth, found a fitting medium for action in the church and the cloister. The pen was handled by the mighty rather than the sword. The heart was softened by the greatest of all influences which can touch it to the core; and, though

it can make the bravest still more brave, it is in the passive voice, it is in the quiet endurance, the fortitude that fears not death, but overcomes it with the exultation of Martyrdom, that cries out God's will be done, and makes God's will its own, that Christianity triumphs. The brave Britons, whom the swarming legionaries of Rome could only partially conquer, and never entirely overawe, received Christianity from Constantine; and weakened in various ways, and exhausted by draughts to the empire, and monks going to Bangor and other places in thousands, they were afterwards not able to scare away a few Scots and Picts from the Roman Wall, but let them overcome the entire kingdom. Christianity conquered the Roman empire, and not Goth, and Hun, and Vandal. It divided the empire against itself —the sure premonitory symptom, that such was more than the divided house can stand. It is only when Christianity wields the high adjunct of civilization which it fosters and encourages in its adult state, that the highest courage and most indomitable fortitude co-exist with the still higher ennobling qualities of the true Christian character. When daring is felt to be a duty, then it joined to physical qualities of the perfect man, crowning him with a diadem of noble deeds, that shows him to be the prince of humanity.

If the Anglo-Saxons had settled in a goodly land, and quietly, comparatively speaking, enjoyed a prosperity unknown to them in their pagan homes on the continent—the sea; and during their unsettled movements, if they had built churches, and endowed monasteries with a princely magnificence, of which many a relic still adorns the land, the Danes, when they came, and saw, and conquered in many instances, fell into the same habits. Conquered Rome, converted and conquered its barbarian and heathen masters to the dominion of the cross. Anglo-Saxon converted his Danish neighbour, and subdued him with the cross. The higher the superstition of the pagan, the greater the devotee when he is converted. All along, the Danes had evinced a superstitious reverence for their mythology; Odin and Thor, a warrior's heaven, and warrior's delight mingled up cups of enchantment, more intoxicating than ale or mead, till men loathed life, if death met them not sword in hand, and despatched them to the nether world. Hence, when the Danes were converted to Christianity by their intercourse with the Anglo-Saxons, they transferred all their superstitious feelings to the emblems of Christianity, which the Anglo-Saxons had never done. The Danes, more than any other people reverenced their dead.

Wherever a hero fell, even if but a short time was at their command, it sufficed to cover his remains, and fix a mark on the spot. If nothing more suitable was at hand, they covered the hero's grave with the boat which had borne him up many a river to many a victory in many a land; and if more time allowed, they reared a banta-stone over his remains, or heaped up a "haugr" or hill, in memory of his name and actions. Denmark, Sweden, and Norway; Scotland and Ireland near their coasts; and England contain many of these memorials yet, though the spoilers, the spade and the plough, and time more mighty than all, have assailed them on every hand. But when christianity upset the "hofs" of Thor and the sacred enclosures, and made fires of their temples and images, then crosses were reared over the christians' graves, and the customs of the pagan state transferred as far as could be allowed into the practices of their newly-adopted creed. This accounts for the great number of "Crosbys" in the Danish districts. On the coast of the West Derby hundred, there are "Great Crosby" and "Little Crosby," memorials of Danish residence, and Danish remains within the limits of such spots; evidences too of their early cultivation, when barrenness reigned around them.

We do not meet with many Danish settlements in Southern Lancashire. Though advantageously situated for their inroads, the country at the time was unfavourable; a low, swampy, boggy plain ran along almost from the Mersey to the Ribble, and penetrated inland beyond their ken on the coast. During the Roman sway, these bogs and marshes not being worthy of Roman occupation as fixed tenements, furnished retreats for the Britons when at variance with their masters. The turn outs of these days were into the marshy districts. This is the reason why the Romans had no fixed station nor military road within the West Derby hundred. Traces of temporary occupation may be found, but the great features of Roman residences are wanting. After the Romans, for a like reason, the Anglo-Saxons were but thinly scattered within the district, and hence, the Danes as spoilers, had little to do from their usual allurement.

Churches also were built by the naturalized Danes in all places where they settled; and just as easy as it is to recognize their dwellings by their *bys*, so is it to know the places where they reared their churches. Their name for a church was "kirkja." Hence in whatever compound name this word enters as a component, there it indicates a Danish origin. Hence

Kirkby, and Formby, and Ormskirk, and Kirkdale are places appertaining to the early Anglo-Danish history.

Dale is likewise a genuine Danish appellative; in Kirkdale, as already noticed, it enters. Besides this place in this hundred, we find Skelsmeredale, Ainsdale, Kirkdale, and Cuerdale; such as these are general names. Hereafter we shall notice (if needed) the particular.

The Danes formed no settlements as general localities along the Lancastrian banks of the Mersey. The Cheshire side had more charms for them, as being better cultivated from the natural advantages of the soil. The walls of Runcorn enabled them to sail up the river, until they fell in with the Roman roads, which enabled them to penetrate into Derbyshire and Northumbria. Nor did the Ribble furnish them with a much better choice; altogether, the territory was poor—too poor for their possession. Nor could the united energies of Saxon and Dane improve it. It was almost valueless when the Domboc registered the wealth of the kingdom. The only two places which the Danes seem to have noticed in their navigation of the Ribble, were Walton-le-Dale, and the more important Cuerdale, now renowned in archæology for the richest find of ancient coins recorded in history. It would be the wantonness of conjecture to presume for what purpose the Danes brought a treasure amounting to 7,000 pieces into Cuerdale, and equally so, to conceive a reason for their leaving them there. They, however, teach us a very valuable lesson in the habits and customs of the time, let the causes of their concealment be what they may. Bars of silver, amulets, broken rings, and ornaments of various kinds, such as we read of in Scandinavian Sagas, were mingled with the coins; many countries had been rifled for this treasure. Kufic, Italian, Byzantine, French, Anglo-Saxon coins were in the booty; besides 3,000 genuine Danish pieces, minted by kings and yarls on the continent, and within the precincts of the districts in which the Danes had settled. The coins are so well known, that further notice of them would be tedious and discursive.

Another discovery of Danish treasure was made at Harkirke, near Crosby, already mentioned. The coins here found were of a more recent deposit, and contained but one of Canute the Great. Recent times have introduced those changes into the hundred which disturb the surface of the ground for a variety of purposes. Almost stagnant previously, was the condition of the natives from the conquest until the beginning of the present century.

Cultivation had extended, but it was on a low scale, and with no tendency whatever to improvement. Nothing new in any way was introduced. The Saxon "timbered" his house as in the days of Alfred. Post and pillar, rushes and clay plaster interlarded; and a thatched roof was frequent as the residence of the peasant. The Dane kept to the shore, and contented himself chiefly with fishing. His habits had survived, but his spirit instinctively followed the feelings of his fathers. The sea was his farm. He dredged the coast and the estuary, had his boat and his innate love of danger, till Liverpool sprung up with the magic of eastern fable, and turned out many a rover to visit every region in the world. The race of the Vikings are, many of them, the richest merchants on the earth's surface.

II.—British Burial Places near Bolton, Co. Lancaster.

By Matthew Dawes, Esq., F.G.S.

In a densely populated manufacturing district, like the neighbourhood of Bolton, it is particularly interesting to find traces of the early inhabitants of this island, which the hand of time and the progress of civilization have still spared to the antiquary. I have therefore thrown together a few notes, briefly describing the British burial places which have been discovered near Bolton, during the last twenty-seven years; within which period five Tumuli have been exposed to view, the first, fourth, and fifth of which I personally inspected, accompanied in the latter instance by my friend Sir Henry E. L. Dryden, Bart, to whose pencil this Society is indebted for several of the drawings which illustrate this paper, and for the plan and view of the stone circle hereafter mentioned.

No. 1. Near Haulgh Hall, about a quarter of a mile South-east from Bolton Parish Church, on a piece of high flat land, on the East bank of the Croal, and about fifty feet above that river, was a Tumulus, about thirty feet in diameter and four feet deep, consisting of small boulders. The subsoil here is gravel. It was discovered in September 1825, in forming a branch of the new road leading from Bolton to Bury. It was probably much depressed since its formation, and was covered with a few inches of mould. The cop, or fence, crossed it in a North and South direction. About the centre of this Tumulus was a cist-vaen, about four feet six inches long and one foot deep, formed of four upright stones and a

coverer, and its length was nearly North and South. In this cist-vaen was a skeleton, with the legs doubled up, and the head to the North. Near the head and on the West side was found an urn inverted, (fig. 1) 4¼ inches in the widest diameter and 3¼ high, and perforated by four small holes below the widest part. On the other side of the head was a bronze spearhead, 4⅜ inches long and 1⅜ inch wide, (fig. 2) of which the point was bent back and a piece of the side chipped away. The urn and spearhead were taken to the Countess of Bradford, the Earl of Bradford being the owner of the land. The Watling Street from Mancunium (Manchester) to Coccium (Ribchester) running N.W. and S.E., passes within three miles N.E. of this Tumulus.

A man, in the employ of the Earl of Bradford, the superintendent of the workmen who made the discovery, informs me (1852) that two other Tumuli [Nos. 2 and 3] were found shortly after the one just described, a few yards to the South of it, in the same fence; but of this fact I was not, until lately, made aware.

No. 4. The next discovery was made in digging for the foundations of the Church lately erected at Walmersley, three miles North of Bolton Parish Church, and about 100 yards West of the turnpike-road to Blackburn. This was on the Southerly end of a long knoll, on the East side of Eagley Brook, and about fifty feet above the water; but surrounded on all sides by much higher hills. The soil is gravel with fine sand. It was discovered in 1838, but I was not informed of the circumstance until some days afterwards, so that my description is taken almost entirely from the workmen. This burial place consisted of a Tumulus of boulders, like the one at Haulgh Hall; but these and the earth had, when I visited the spot, been nearly all removed. In the centre of the heap of boulders was a cist-vaen, containing a skeleton, lying North by East and South by West, and a grey urn, ill baked, and broken to small fragments by the workmen, from whose information it must have been four or five inches in diameter. With this urn was a white flint celt, or knife, about 2½ inches long, and 1½ inches broad. This flint was afterwards lent by me to a temporary museum at Salford, and thence stolen. On the hill, called Turton Heights, about one mile North by East of this burial place, is a stone circle, (hereafter described), and at about a mile and a half S.W., on a part of Smithills Deane, called Egbert Dean, were found, about 40 years since, a stone hammer, and a bronze paalstab, now (1852) in my possession.

No. 5. The next and last discovery of this kind was made in November 1851, on the edge of the West bank of the river Croal, about one mile South-west from Bolton parish church, and 100 yards East of the turnpike road to Manchester. The bank is sixty or seventy feet above the water, and commands a view of the surrounding country for some miles, and is composed entirely of gravel. This burial place consisted of a Tumulus about fifteen feet diameter, and four feet deep, formed of boulders, of from three to eight inches diameter. About two feet in thickness of earth covered the stones; in the middle of the Tumulus, was an urn about two feet high and one foot three inches wide, (by the workmen's account), inverted and sunk about six inches into the earth, below the boulders. This urn contained the burnt bones of a very young person, together with bones of one or two small animals; and in or close to the urn was a relic, which, by the workmen's description, was a piece of what is called Kimmeridge Coal-money. A small clay bead was also found; but as no care was taken to preserve the remains, the urn was broken to fragments, and probably other beads were lost. Some of the fragments are in the possession of Mr. Piggot, Steward to the Earl of Bradford, and some are in my possession; of the latter of which I send drawings, (fig. 4). The urn is figured here, (fig. 5), of the size described by the workmen, restored by Sir Henry Dryden; but, as the curve of one of the fragments, at undoubtedly the largest part, gives a diameter of one foot and half an inch only, Sir Henry doubts whether the urn was as much as two feet high. The ornamentation is rude and irregular. There are one or two urns something like this in shape, but not in ornament, figured in Sir R. C. Hoare's beautiful work.

The circle of stones referred to, (in No. 4), is on the north end of Chetham's Close, which is the southerly and highest division of a hill called Turton Heights, lying on the east side of the road from Bolton to Blackburn. The top of this hill is boggy: near the circle is a trigonometrical station, whose altitude is marked on the Ordnance Map, 1075.

I accompanied Sir Henry Dryden to visit these remains in 1850, and at that time, there remained six stones upright, varying in height from one foot to four feet eight inches, and in width, from one foot six inches to four feet, and in thickness, from eleven inches to two feet. Judging from the relative distances of those remaining, three stones have been taken away. See *Plate*.

At 115 feet S.E. from the circle is a single stone; and at 82 feet S.W. is another; and between these two stones is an assemblage of smaller stones only just appearing out of the boggy soil. This circle is about a mile and a half S.W. of the Roman Road before-mentioned.

A
B
C
D
E
82 ft
H
G
F
A
B
C
D
E
G

straggling horsemen in pursuit, having looked at the house passed on. A solitary trooper who followed, scanning it more attentively, the loyal owner who was on the watch, asked him the question; and having successfully enforced his speech with the argument of the quarter staff, the King ordered that the words should be placed on the west front, facing the road.

From Thos Tobin, Esq., Ballincollig, Cork. — An etching of the gold torque in his collection.

Etchings of four other Irish objects of antiquity.

The following Articles were EXHIBITED :—

By Thomas Dorning Hibbert, Esq. — The six original letters of which an account was afterwards given to the meeting.

By Mrs. James Dunlop, Everton Road. — Four earthenware heads of small size, used in ornamenting the buildings of the ancient Mexicans. No bodies are ever found connected with them.

An arrow head of black flint, from the shores of the Gulf of Mexico.

By W. G. Herdman, Esq. — Drawings of the following places of worship, in illustration of the Rev. Dr. Thom's paper, viz. :—Old St Catherine's Church, the old Chapel Newington, St. Andrew's Cockspur Street, Lime Street Chapel. A model of St. Matthew's Church, Key Street.

A large collection of sketches, representing old houses and antiquities in Liverpool, many of which have been destroyed.

By Wm. H. Dobie, Esq. — A watch said to have been worn by Prince Charles Edward. At a levee in Holyrood Palace, shortly before the battle of Culloden, he presented it to a lady whose son had rendered him an important service. The thumb pieces are set with diamonds. (The curious watches noticed at page 64 were again exhibited along with it.)

By Mrs. Phillips, Belle-Vue. — A series of views of Old Halls in Lancashire and Cheshire.

By John Mather, Esq. — A large oil painting, being a view of the Wishing-gate formerly on the North shore.

By Joseph Mayer, F.S.A. — The spoon of Prince Charles Edward, and its case. See *Plate*.—The spoon has a joint

near the heel of the bowl, which allows it to be folded up, in order to fit in the case. This makes it more portable, a very desirable quality at that time, when people were obliged to carry their own silver spoons, as the usual articles of that kind then in use were made of pewter. It was presented to the ancestor of the person from whom Mr. Mayer purchased it, by the young Chevalier; as a remembrance of him, and as an acknowledgment for the hospitality which he received during his stay in Manchester, on his intended march to London, in 1745.

Book Illing in Limoges enamel. Soon after the art of glazing pottery was discovered by Luca della Robia, enamelling became very much used for many purposes, and at Limoges there was established a manufactory, where the art was carried to great perfection. It was applied, however, in a different way, having for its basis thin sheets of copper, instead of terra-cotta; and many of the specimens then made have never been surpassed for the purity of colour and the texture of the body. Amongst other uses, it was employed in ornamenting the covers of books; and there are many examples still remaining of the beautifully illuminated manuscripts of that period, having illings richly ornamented with figures and other devices in high relief on copper. They are then exquisitely enamelled with brilliant colours. The accompanying cut will give an idea of the style of ornamentation.

Miscellaneous Communications.

1. Mr. Richard Brooke, F.S.A., in a brief communication offered some new suggestions respecting the grounds at Gawsworth. A paper on the subject will be found in vol. ii. of Proceedings and Papers, pp. 200—210. From an examination made on the 20th of May last, he believes that the appearances do not indicate the remains of an ancient Tilting Ground, but "that they are nothing more than the remains of the quaint and formal hanging gardens, raised walks, terraces, pleasure grounds, artificial hillocks or mounts, flower and fruit gardens, ponds, &c., which were formerly common near old mansions in England." The "long and lofty terrace" mentioned by Ormerod, he regards merely as a raised walk; this is along the west side. There is a similar terrace at the east side of the garden, and

"A strong presumption of the use of such a mode of punishment, in comparatively modern times, is afforded, by a note, at the foot of Mr. Neild's remarks, in which he states as follows: 'What I have called a Ducking Stool, is in Cheshire called a Cucking Stool, i.e. a Choaking Stool. It is a standard, fixed at the entrance of a pond; to this is attached a long pole, at the extremity of which, is fastened a chair, in this the woman is placed, and undergoes a thorough ducking, thrice repeated. Such a one within the memory of persons now living, was in the great reservoir, in the Green Park.'"

3. Dr. Kendrick, of Warrington, exhibited the ancient "Plague Stone" from the neighbourhood of that town, and explained the facts connected with it. During the Plague, in 1665, it formed part of the rounded coping of court yard wall, of a farm house. It was situated in the Wash Lane, Latchford. Tradition uniformly asserts that the Plague prevailed here, though there no historic notices of it; and that the money in payment for provisions and other necessaries, was deposited in the square hollow of the stone, in a mixture of vinegar and water. All communication with the inmates was of course cut off. The idea has gained strength of late that there were no such things as Plague Stones; for, no fewer than ten have been shown to be the sockets of way-side crosses. That was quite impossible in the present case, as the cavity is only four and a half inches square, and two deep. The stone also stood on private property, forty yards from the high road, and the date of the house is the *Puritan* one 1650. It is said that those who died of the pestilence were buried in an adjacent croft, for in such circumstances, interments in unconsecrated ground were not unusual; and in 1843, several skeletons were found at the spot. The accompanying view shows the house, the stepping stones in the lane, and the spot (A) where the stone stood.

PAPERS.

I.—Liverpool Churches and Chapels; their Destruction, Removal, or Alteration:

with Notices of Clergymen, Ministers, and Others.

By Rev. D. Thom, D.D., Ph. D, one of the Vice-Presidents of the Society.

PART I.

It has struck me as likely to prove interesting to members of the Historic Society, were I to bring under their notice, within a reasonable compass, a view of the changes which have occurred in connection with ecclesiastical edifices now existing, or which at a former period have existed, in the town of Liverpool. Facts lying scattered throughout the pages of our local historians might, I have conceived, be brought together—circumstances not known generally, or if known hitherto untouched on, might be adverted to—and parties who, although possessed of temporary

notoriety, are now almost forgotten, might again acquire something like "a local habitation and a name." Some little advantages, I have thought, might be the result of this. The future investigator into Liverpool affairs might have a few hints suggested to him. Persons from a distance, whose information concerning the town had been derived from those who had long ceased to reside in it, or from antiquated directories and guide-books, instead of being startled and confused, on visiting it, at missing particular buildings, or being unable to hear of particular congregations, might be prepared for some of the alterations which time, and municipal improvements had produced. And the inhabitant of the town himself, to whom certain facts were previously unknown, might, if possessed of the antiquarian spirit, imbued with literary tastes, and taking an interest in the subject of religion, be enabled from time to time to pause, and contemplate spots, which, although now the scenes of commercial bustle and activity, were once hallowed by totally different associations. Thus considering, and thus influenced, I have now to submit to my colleagues a brief account of some of the changes which have passed over the ecclesiastical structures of this great mercantile emporium, as well as over the congregations worshipping in them. In doing so, I shall bestow a transient glance on the men by whose names, as writers or preachers, the churches or chapels named, may have been adorned, and by whose labours the persons assembling therein may have been benefited. Notorious facts and characters will be made to pass before the mind, and seasons of peculiar religious excitement will not be overlooked. Condensation and brevity, as a matter of course, I have been forced to study. For to sketch and suggest, not to fill up outlines and exhaust the subject, is what I have aimed at.

Two obvious divisions of my paper present themselves. First, buildings which have belonged to the Established Church; and second, such as all along have been occupied by Dissenters. Under these heads do I treat of my subject.

I.—Established Churches.

From among these, I select for particular consideration, 1, St. Catherine's, Temple Court; 2, St. Matthew's, (former;) 3, St. Matthew's, (present;) 4, St. Mary's, or the Church of the Blind; 5, St. Simon's; 6, St. Mary's, Harrington Street; 7, St Matthias' former and present; 8, St. George's; 9, All Saints, now St. Joseph's; 10, St. Stephen's; and, 11, St. John the Evangelist's. Passing references to three other churches will follow.

1.—*St. Catherine's, Temple Court.*

This building was situated in Temple Court, off John Street and Matthew Street, and occupied the spot on which now stands the fire police station. Its form was octagonal; a circumstance from which—as my friend Mr. Richard Brooke acquaints me, and as I see mentioned in Mr. Boardman's recently published pamphlet, "Bentleyana,"*—those who attended it at first were popularly known by the appellation of *Octagonians*. A full and accurate description of it will be found in Enfield's "History of Leverpool," pp. 47, 48.† And parties who wish to look at a representation of it, may be referred to one of the pages of engravings in W. G. Herdman's interesting and magnificent volume.‡ Mr. Brooke says, that its vestry was decidedly the most commodious and comfortable of any in the town, and a perfect model of what such an appendage to a place of worship should be. It was large and well-furnished, with an antechamber adapted for meetings of the trustees and managers, as well as for the use of the clergymen; and by its position at the upper part of the building, was exempt from damp and offensive smells. With the edifice there was connected an extensive graveyard in which were burial-places belonging to several of the wealthy and influential inhabitants of the town.

Enfield and Herdman both concur in representing this structure as having been erected in 1763, by persons disaffected to popular theological dogmas, or, as the phrase then in vogue was, entertaining liberal and rational notions on the subject of religion. A few of these might have been members of the Church of England, but the great majority were Presbyterians belonging to Benn's Garden and Key (Kay) Street Chapels.§ Although rejecting the doctrines of the Trinity and Atonement,‖ the body of dissenters who opened the Octagon, seem to have preferred set forms of prayer to extempore devotional exercises. To meet their views and

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* Liverpool: Wareing Webb, 1851.

† In the Gentleman's Magazine, for 1764, it is noticed and described, as one among the public buildings then recently erected in Liverpool. Moss in his "History," p. 148, also describes it, as it appeared after the alterations of 1792.

‡ "Pictorial Relics of Liverpool."

§ Mr. Thomas Bentley appears to have taken a leading part in the formation of the Society, and, even after he left the town, to have cherished a deep, lively, and lasting interest in its success—Bentleyana, pp. 9, 10, and 18.

‖ Openly and avowedly, but not on the face of their trust deeds. Their legal style then was Presbyterians. It was, as is well known, contrary to law for any one, or any body of individuals, to deny or impugn the doctrine of the Trinity, until the passing of Mr. W. Smith's act in 1812.

wishes, a Liturgy consisting of three distinct services was drawn up, nominally by a committee of gentlemen appointed for the purpose, but really by the Rev. Mr. Seddon, of Warrington ; * and, having been approved of, was printed and circulated for the use of the congregation. † A copy of the work, by the kindness of Mr. Brooke, I have had an opportunity of seeing and perusing. Its resemblance, in certain respects, to the Liturgy of the Established Church, is manifest ; and, in the composition of its prayers, much good taste is evinced. Dr. Enfield speaks highly of it. Its title is given below. ‡

The Octagon was opened as a dissenting place of worship in 1763 ; § and after passing out of the hands of its original proprietors, it became connected with the Established Church, when it assumed the name of St. Catherine's. It existed until the month of March, 1820. Having got out of repair, and standing in the way of improvements of the town, it was then taken down by order of the Corporation, and its materials sold. Previous to its demolition such bodies as had been interred in the adjacent cemetery, were removed to other places of sepulture.

There is a difference of a whole year, between the statement made in Gore's "Annals of Liverpool," and that supplied to me by Mr. Brooke, as to the period when St. Catherine's ceased to be a Presbyterian Chapel. The "Annals" say, 1775.|| Mr. Brooke avers, that divine service was solemnized in it for the last time, according to the peculiar forms of its own liturgy, on

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* So says Mr. Henry Taylor, now of London, in a valuable MS. volume of his, belonging to the Unitarian congregation, Renshaw street here, to which I shall have occasion frequently to refer.

† The scheme of using a liturgy was much disapproved of by several of the leading ministers of the English Presbyterian denomination, who anticipated no good from it, and besides, condemned it on the ground of principle. Among these was the celebrated Dr. John Taylor, then residing at Warrington. His pamphlet, entitled, "Scripture account of prayer," contains his views on the subject.

‡ "A form of Prayer, and a new collection of Psalms, for the use of a congregation of Protestant Dissenters in Liverpool, printed for the Society, and sold by Christopher Henderson, under the Royal Exchange, London ; and by John Sibbald, Bookseller, in Liverpool, 1763." The copy seen by me, has, on the inside of the cover, the words, "W. Wyke, (60,)" having belonged, as Mr. Brooke informs me, to a gentlemen bearing that name, who was a leading member of the Society. Mr. Wyke, it seems, was proprietor of a house and garden situated at the corner of Dale Street and Hatton Garden, as well as of several other houses, more to the West, in Dale street. Upon the site of the whole, now stand the buildings belonging to the Coal Gas Company. Some members of the Historic Society may remember Wyke court, in Dale street.

§ January 19th I believe. Mr. Henry Taylor, in his MS. volume, page 29, says 5th June.

|| "First service at the Octagon, 1763.'

the 25th day of February, 1776. The question, it appears to me, may be easily settled, by a reference to the newspapers of the day, and to the sermon preached at the dissolution of the Society, which was afterwards published. Pending an examination of these documents, I have no hesitation in avowing my conviction, that Mr. Brooke is right. He has ascertained the date, not only by a manuscript marking on the copy of the Octagon liturgy in his possession, * but also by a domestic occurrence well known to him. Mr. Bentley's letter, in Boardman's "Bentleyana," seems to me to be decisive in Mr. Brooke's favour. †

St. Catherine's was, for several years after its abandonment by the dissenters, the property of the Rev. William Plumbe, ‡ a clergyman of the Church of England. It was purchased by the Corporation in 1792. Consulting Moss,—"History of Liverpool," p. 148, §—we find it recorded by him as having only then become connected with the establishment. || Considerable repairs seem to have been made on it by its new owners.

Respecting its different ministers, a short account may not be unacceptable.

During the whole period, from 1763 till 1776, the congregation was under the pastoral care of the Rev. Nicholas Clayton. This gentleman came from London. ¶ An amiable, intelligent, and highly educated man he appears to have been. It would be unjust to his memory, to withhold from the Society, what the celebrated Gilbert Wakefield, a writer whose powers of penetration no one will dispute, and who was by no means particularly inclined to flatter, has recorded concerning him in his "Memoirs." Speaking of him, as one of his colleagues at the Warrington Academy, vol. i, p. 226, edition 1804, he says, "Dr. Clayton, (afterwards of Nottingham), succeeded, on the death of Dr. Aiken, to the tutorship of Divinity. He was for some years minister of the Octagon, Liverpool, (where a liturgy was used), and the author of two sermons; one occasioned by the dissolution of

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* "Last service at the Octagan, February, 1776. John iv 20, 21, 22, & 23."

† As also Mr. Henry Taylor's testimony, MS. vol., p. 29.

‡ "John," according to Mr. Brooke. He is more than once named "William," in the directories of the period.

§ Published 1795.

|| Troughton, "History of Liverpool," p. 381. expresses himself to the same effect.

¶ Born at Enfield, county of Middlesex. Taylor's MS. vol.—See also "Bentleyana," p. 9.

that society, and the other on prayer,* preached at a meeting of dissenting ministers—both of them excellent compositions. This gentleman was my very particular friend, and I might here indulge those encomiums of his intellect and heart, which, even envy would not attribute to the undiscerning partiality of affection." More of Dr. Clayton afterwards.

Along with Dr. Clayton, while at the Octagon, was associated as his colleague in the ministry, Mr. Hezechiah Kirkpatrick. This gentleman had been trained at Dr. Jennings' celebrated Academy, London.† He was author of a volume published in 1785, and entitled, "Sermons on Various Subjects, with an account of the principles of Protestant Dissenters, their mode of worship, and forms of public prayer, baptism, and the Lord's supper." A copy of this work will be found in the Library of the Lyceum, Liverpool. His introduction, which is very interesting, supplies the reader with a great deal of information. Having removed to Park Lane Chapel, near Wigan, he breathed his last there, September, 19, 1799, aged 61, after an incumbency of 13 years. We must beware of confounding him with William Kirkpatrick, D.D.,‡ the first minister of Oldham Street Kirk here.

The Rev Mr. Plumbe, the church clergyman, by whom the Octagon was bought in 1770, and who officiated as its minister for several years, was propably, a personal friend of Dr. Clayton; for I find, on reference to the Liverpool Directory of 1777, that both were then living under the same roof.§ Mr. Plumbe had for his curate in 1781, the Rev. Robert Wilmot. In 1790, the Rev. Brownlow Forde, afterwards, for many years the ordinary of Newgate, London, and to whom, as having had occasion in that capacity to be present at the execution of several notorious criminals, our friend, Mr. Brooke, has more than once alluded, was incumbent. About a year

* I have not seen the sermon, but, from circumstances, I should suspect it to have been intended as a vindication of his own use of set forms of prayer, and as an answer to the tract of Dr. Taylor, already noticed.

† See Mr. Taylor's MS. volume, p. 30.

‡ This gentleman, created D.D. by diploma from the University of St. Andrew's, Scotland, bearing date 3rd May, 1811, published a work, to which reference will be found made in my paper on the Scotch Kirks and Congregations in Liverpool. It likewise is in the Lyceum Library. I have reason to think that, like the productions of many others, it may be regarded as a *monogram*. Dr. Kirkpatrick's ministry lasted from 1792 till 1815.

§ At what was then No 22 in Duke Street.

subsequent to that mentioned, Mr. Forde left Liverpool, and the church came into the hands of the Corporation. *

On the 16th November, 1792, the Rev. Robert Kennion or Kenyon Milner, and the Rev. Thomas Bold were appointed by the Common Council joint-ministers of St. Catherine's. In that relation, these two gentlemen stood to each other for the long period of between 20 and 30 years, indeed, till within a very short time of the demolition of the edifice. When the church was pulled down in 1820, Mr. Bold was the surviving colleague. It may be interesting to mention, that this venerable and respected clergyman is still alive. By looking back a sentence or two, it will be observed that nearly 60 years have elapsed since his appointment as minister of St. Catherine's. I learn from a report made by Mr. Shuttleworth, the present town clerk of Liverpool, to the Common Council, on the 27th December, 1850, a document, which was afterwards printed by order of that body, that a salary of £150 a year has been secured to Mr. Bold, payable by the Corporation during his life-time, but destined to terminate upon his decease. †

2.—*St. Matthew's, (former).*

Every vestige of this edifice, an engraving of which may been seen in W. G. Herdman's "Pictorial Relics of ancient Liverpool," ‡ has been swept away. It was substantial, although plain in its appearance; stood on the Western side of Key (Kay or Kaye) § Street, about 50 or 60 yards from Tithebarn Street; and was taken down three or four years ago—its site, and the site of the court or yard connected with it, ‖ having been required for the *terminus* of the East Lancashire and Lancashire and Yorkshire Railways. The traveller leaving the railway by the incline on the eastern side of the station, now passes unconsciously over the spot, where once the praises of God ascended from the lips of devout worshippers.

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* Herdman says, p. 91, that St. Catherine's "was bought by the Corporation, but never consecrated."

† See Report of the Town Clerk, &c., p. 7.

‡ Mr. Herdman produced a very pretty little model of old St. Matthew's, at the meeting of the Society, June 10th, 1852, the same meeting at which this paper was brought under its notice.

§ Kay or Kaye Street was, no doubt, the proper name. So also is Lumber Street, in the same neighbourhood, clearly Lombard Street. See Liverpool Directory, 1781, p. 105.

‖ There was, as I recollect, a considerable flagged space in front.

Taking for my guides Mr. Henry Taylor's MS. volume in the Library of the Unitarian Chapel, Renshaw Street, and information kindly and courteously furnished by my friend, the Rev. James Martineau, the following facts connected with old St. Matthew's, while it continued a dissenting place of worship, are submitted to the Society.

This building was erected in 1706-7. It belonged originally to the denomination of Presbyterians. According to Mr. Taylor, it owed its origin, "probably to the rising population of Liverpool, and the influx of settlers from Scotland, and [the north of] Ireland," MS., p. 26. Having been licensed, it was opened for public worship, November 24th, 1707. With that year, and about the period just mentioned, its register begins.

Its first minister was Mr. Christopher Basnett. All contemporary documents concur in bearing testimony to the high respectability of his character. Mr. Basnett was the author of a volume of sermons, published 1714, entitled, "Zebulon's Blessing Opened," &c.; and in 1717, there appeared from his pen, a discourse on "Church Officers, and their Missions," delivered at St. Helen's, on occasion of the ordination of Mr., afterwards Dr. Henry Winder, and Mr. Mather. Towards the close of his life, Mr. Basnett seems to have required assistance in the discharge of his ministerial functions, for with him we find Mr. John Brekell associated, for several years as colleague. The commencement of their joint-pastorship, Mr. Martineau dates in April, 1732.* Mr. Basnett's death took place in 1744. "His entries in the register," observes Mr. Martineau, "continue till April of that year."† As to his age, at the period of his decease, I can say nothing. Judging from the time when he began his studies under Mr. Richard Frankland, at Rathmel, 1st April, 1696, and supposing him to have been then twenty years of age, it would shew him to have died before attaining his 70th year.

After Mr. Basnett's demise, the pastoral duties and responsibilities devolved entirely on Mr. Brekell. ‡ Concerning the history of this gentleman,

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* 1728 is set down as the time in Mr. H. Taylor's MS. volume, p. 26.

† His death occurred 22nd July.

‡ Mr. Smithers in his history of Liverpool, page 416, speaks of him as "minister of St. Peter's." This is one of the many blunders which I have detected in that gentleman's otherwise valuable production. Confining myself to matters connected with the subject of this present article only, I find him stating the date of the foundation of St. Luke's church, as "9th of April, 1816," p. 32, instead of 1811; Mr. Bell, as "Vicar," instead of Rector of Liverpool; Mr. "John," instead of James Lister, &c., &c. I notice these

a few particulars have been transmitted to us. He was born, 1697, at Moels, is supposed to have received his education at Nottingham under Mr. Hardy, and was married, 1736. Mr. Taylor gives these particulars on the authority of his relation, Mr. Philip Taylor. According to Mr. Martineau, "he has left a published volume of sermons, which bears testimony to his having been a scholar, and a man of some elegance of taste." This testimony, in itself most valuable, is corroborated by that of Dr. John Taylor, who speaks of Mr. Brekell as "having been a learned man." The MS. volume of Mr. H. Taylor, pp. 26 and 27, furnishes us with a list of Mr. Brekell's various publications, amounting to fourteen. He continued minister of Key Street chapel till his death, which occurred, 28 December, 1769. His whole incumbency, including the period of his association with Mr. Basnett, (1732—1744), extended over a period of between thirty-seven and thirty-eight years.*

Mr. Brekell, it would appear, became unfit for the discharge of the duties of his office, some time before his death. "A number of entries in the register," says Mr. Martineau, "made in 1769 and 1770, by Mr. afterwards Dr. Enfield, then minister of Benn's Garden chapel, seems to imply, that no regular successor had, during that period been appointed to" him. Mr. Philip Taylor from Norwich, grandson of Dr. John Taylor, according to the MS. volume so often already referred to, was nominated his assistant two years before his death. The fact of Mr. Taylor not having then been ordained, explains why Dr. Enfield, an ordained Presbyterian minister, was employed to officiate in cases, in which one who was merely a probationer could not act.

The death of Mr. Brekell opened up the successorship to Mr. Philip Taylor, who was ordained to the work of the ministry, over the Key Street

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minor inaccuracies with pain; for Mr. Smithers, whom I knew, and to whom I rendered some trifling assistance in the composition of his work, was not only a clever, but a kind-hearted, and honourably-minded man. However, it must be mentioned for the guidance of those who may have occasion to refer to his history, that in cases of disputed dates, and other matters of that sort, it might occasionally be advisable to have his statements corroborated by the authority of others. To what I have stated with regard to Mr. Smithers, I may add, that he was a Londoner, and in early life intimate with John Horne Tooke, and other celebrities. He was author of a work, a copy of which he did me the honour to present to me, entitled, "The Cultivation of the Arts and Sciences maintained to be favourable to virtue and happiness,"—Brussels, 1818; as also of another publication, "Observations on the Netherlands."

* Above 40 years, of course, if 1728 was, as Mr. Taylor alleges, the date of the commencement of the joint-ministry.

congregation, in July 1770. He removed to Eustace Street Chapel, Dublin, in 1777, where he continued to act as pastor, till his death in 1831, at a very advanced age. Towards the close of his life, Mr. Martineau, his relation, assisted him in the performance of his ministerial duties.

Mr. John Yates was called to supply the vacancy occasioned by Mr. P. Taylor's resignation. The ordination of Mr. Yates, along with that of Mr. Hugh Anderson, appointed minister of the Park Chapel, took place in Key Street Chapel, 1st October, 1777. On that occasion, Dr. Enfield preached and presided; the sermon which he delivered having been afterwards published. No one belonging to Liverpool requires to be told of the high respectability of Mr. Yates' character.* His talents and attainments are evinced in various pulpit discourses, which, at different periods, he sent forth from the press. His ministry was a long one. Suffice it to say here, that, during its continuance, the connection of the Society over which he presided, with the meeting-house in Key Street, terminated. Having erected a new place of worship in Paradise Street, at the corner of School Lane—for a minute description of which, I may be permitted to refer to Moss's "History," 1795, pp., 152, 154,—Key Street was abandoned, and the new chapel taken possession of and opened, on the 11th day of September, 1791.†

Key Street Chapel, having been sold, and taken under the wing of the Establishment, was consecrated ‡ and opened in 1795, when it received the appellation of St. Matthew's Church. § We cease, henceforward, to be able to avail ourselves of the information derivable from Messrs. Taylor and Martineau.

Few religious edifices in Liverpool can boast of having had a greater number or variety of officiating clergymen than St. Matthew's. To state their names and the period of their incumbency is all that, in most cases, we are competent to. In 1795, the Rev. James White was chaplain; who, having left before 1800, was succeeded by the Rev. William, afterwards Dr. Pulford, a gentleman well known, and distinguished as a teacher of

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* Or of the distinguished individuals to whom he stood in the relation of father.

† Of Mr. Pendlebury Houghton, Mr. Yates' colleague during a portion of his ministry, I shall speak afterwards.

‡ Lacey's "Pictorial Liverpool," 1844, p. 262.

§ The requisite repairs had not, I perceive, been completed when Moss published his "History" in 1795. See page 155.

youth. Dr. Pulford was for eight or nine years connected with St. Matthew's, and at a subsequent period of his life officiated in other Liverpool churches. The Rev. William Marsden appears to have been minister from about 1809 till 1813, or 1814. The Rev. John Fearon, A.M., having taken charge of the congregation till about 1822, gave place to the Rev. Thomas Tattershall, first A.M., and then D.D., who remained at St. Matthew's till his removal to St. Augustine's, in 1831. Need I remind any of his contemporaries of the esteem, and even admiration, in which this talented, laborious, and excellent minister was universally held? or of the deep impression of regret produced by his death? Dr. Tattershall, after his settlement at St. Augustine's, gave to the public a long and able pamphlet, on the doctrine of Election, composed on Sublapsarian principles; and was, besides, author of one of the "sermons" preached and published, thirteen or fourteen years ago, in the course of our then local Unitarian controversy.*—To return to St. Matthew's. The Rev. J. B. Clarke, son of the celebrated Adam Clarke, was its minister for a short time, about 1831. The Rev. J. H. Stafford officiated there, 1832—1834. The Rev. Thomas Dwyer, our late respected colleague, who, when he died two or three years ago, was chaplain of the West Derby Union Workhouse, appears in the list as clergyman of St. Matthew's, in 1835. We find the congregation presided over by the Rev. J. W. Gowring, B.A.,† author of more than one tract on the subject of religion, and at one time a frequent contributor to the "Gospel Magazine," between 1835 and 1837. To him, 1837, 1838, succeeded the Rev. John Buck, D.C.L.,‡ who was afterwards, for two or three

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* His life and remains were published by his friend, the late Dr. Byrth.

† I have now lying before me one of Mr. Gowring's very able productions, entitled, "The Doctrine of Free and Sovereign Grace; being the substance of two sermons on the seventeenth article, preached in Witton Church, Northwich, July 13th and 20th, 1834. By J. W. Gowring, B.A., Curate of Witton." This gentleman is now blind; but having acquired the habit of reading, by means of relieved, or raised letters, he still officiates as a clergyman, somewhere, I believe, in the neighbourhood of London.

‡ Author of various able Sermons and Tracts. He published a very clever pamphlet on the subject of religion, during his residence in the Isle of Man, about eight or ten years ago; and, since taking up his abode at Houghton, has printed and circulated a discourse on the seventeenth article of the Church of England. Some things occurred, which imparted to Dr. Buck's ministry, during his residence in Liverpool, no small degree of notoriety. A sermon delivered by the Rev. William Nunn, of St. Clement's, Manchester, at St. Matthew's, on Sunday, September 17th, 1837, the substance of which was afterwards published under the title of "*The Supreme Dominion of Jehovah*," drew down upon it, as well as its author, the severe animadversions of Dr. Buck, and was the subject of much conversation among religious persons at the time. Circumstances, too, connected with the Doctor's preaching, and the manner in which he discharged his other duties as chaplain of the Borough Gaol, led to much private and newspaper con-

years, Chaplain to the Borough Gaol, Liverpool, and is now incumbent of Houghton, Stanwix, near Carlisle. The Rev John Leighton Figgins. B.A., now officiating in St. Clement's, Manchester, and author of at least one published sermon, took charge of St. Matthew's from 1838 or 1839, till the close of 1843; the Rev. Robert Townley, B.A.,* now minister of the Universalist Church, Charlestown, Boston, U.S., during 1844; the Rev. William Duncan Long, B.A., in 1845 and part of 1846; the Rev. George Cuthbert, M.A., 1847, 1848; and the Rev. Thomas W. Moeran, B.A., 1849.

I may here mention the fact of my having heard from the pulpit of St. Matthew's Church, in the autumns of 1823 and 1824 respectively, two most logically composed and impressive discourses addressed to the Jews, by the reverend and celebrated Charles Simeon, M.A., Fellow of King's College, Cambridge.

The Rev. Henry B. W. Hillcoat, D.D., who for many years was incumbent of a chapel in Bath, had long been proprietor of St. Matthew's, as well as the party by whom its officiating ministers had been appointed. By him the church was disposed of to a Railway Company: its site, as already stated, having been required for the Liverpool *terminus*. Having received in exchange,

3.—*St. Matthew's, (present),*

he removed to, and took possession of it about three years ago, with his congregation.

The particulars connected with the origin, building, and early history of this religious structure, which stands in Scotland Road, are so remarkable, that I shall not merely be excused, but probably thanked by the members of the Society for bringing them under their notice. They may be relied on as authentic. Joseph Robinson, Esq., of Falkner Square, in this town, who had no small share in the transactions which I am about to mention, and was one of the original Trustees, is, by the high respectability of his character, a sufficient guarantee for the truth of the facts with which, from documents in his possession, he has been polite enough to furnish me.

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troversy in 1840, and 1841. A retiring pension of £60 a year was allowed him by the Corporation, in the spring of the year last-named. It will, no doubt, be in the recollection of several members of the Society, that Dr. Buck did duty, in a very zealous, and efficient manner, as Curate at Trinity Church here, during the autumn, winter, and spring of 1848 and 1849.

* Mr. Townley published in 1845, a work, entitled, "The Second Advent of the Lord Jesus Christ a Past Event," in which are contained many startling positions.

Owing to the great and rapid increase of the Scottish population in the Northern districts of Liverpool, as far back as the month of September, 1838, it was resolved at a meeting of the sessions of Oldham Street, and Rodney Street Kirks, agreeing to co-operate for this purpose, to take steps for having a place of worship, in connexion with the Established Church of Scotland, provided for that particular locality. In pursuance of this resolution, an appeal was made to the liberality and christian feelings of the Scotch residents here. This appeal was heartily responded to. Subscription-books were opened, and subscriptions received. Money came in so plentifully, that by the year 1841, those who had set the matter a-going, could boast of having collected the sum of £1775, a large proportion of which had been derived from small contributors. This was deemed sufficient to authorise the summoning and holding of a meeting of subscribers and others friendly to the cause, in the month of June, 1841. Resolutions to proceed immediately were unanimously adopted. A general committee of twenty gentlemen contributing £50 each, and a sub-committee of five were appointed. The latter was empowered to look out for an appropriate site for the contemplated church, and the school-house which was to be connected with it: when found, to make the requisite purchase—to execute mortgage deeds—to enter into building contracts—and to take all the other steps which might be deemed necessary or advisable for carrying the intentions of the meeting into effect. Acting under the powers thus entrusted to them, land in Scotland Road was acquired by the sub-committee from the late Earl of Derby, and it was contracted with Mr. William Beattie to build the church, under the superintendence of Mr. John Cunningham, F.G.S., architect. This last arrangement was concluded in February, 1842.

Long before the meeting of the two Kirk-sessions in September, 1838, already noticed, the Northern part of Liverpool had, by seriously-minded Scotchmen, been regarded as a most eligible field for missionary labours. Under this impression, different preachers, and ultimately Mr. John Ferries, had been employed to cultivate it. The Carpenters' Hall, Bond Street, was in process of time hired as a temporary place of worship, and there Mr. Ferries preached for some years to an attentive and increasing congregation.

The foundation stone of the church of which we are now speaking, which was at first denominated St. Peter's, was laid on the 22nd day of March,

1842, by George Armstrong, Esq., and the work was immediately and energetically proceeded with. On the 2nd of July, that year, Mr. Ferries, who had "borne the burden and heat of the day" in forming the congregation which, in due time, was to be transferred to and occupy the new building, was appointed minister, with a salary of not less than £150 a year; and on the 14th September following, he was, according to the Presbyterian ritual, by prayer and imposition of hands, solemnly ordained or set apart to the work of the ministry by the Presbytery of Lancashire, then in connexion with the Established Church of Scotland. The ceremony took place in Rodney Street Kirk here. Mr. Ferries, for some time longer, continued his labours in the Carpenters' Hall, it not having been until the 21st day of May, 1843, that St. Peter's was formally opened for divine worship,—the Rev. John Park, then of Rodney Street Kirk, officiating in the morning, Mr. Ferries himself in the afternoon, and the Rev. Alexander Munro, of Manchester, in the evening.

In the meanwhile, matters of the utmost importance had been going on in Scotland. Collisions, of a very unseemly and unedifying kind, between the Established Church and the Civil Courts, on the non-intrusion question, had taken place. Such a state of things, it was evident, could not long continue. A disruption had for some time been threatened, and was obviously impending. At last it occurred. The decision of the House of Lords in the famous Auchterarder case precipitated it. Within a very few days after the opening of St. Peter's, a large body of the Scottish clergy had laid their protest on the table of the General Assembly of the Established Church of Scotland, and seceded from her communion. Of this step, the organisation of that large and powerful body of dissenters, the Free Kirk of Scotland, has been the result.

Immediately the trustees and congregation of St Peter's were made to experience the consequences of this altered state of things. A great number of Scotch livings having been abandoned by their incumbents, persons from all quarters were sought after, for the purpose of supplying the vacancies thereby occasioned. The successorship to one of the vacated parishes—that of Torryburn, in Fife—having been offered to, was at once accepted of by Mr. Ferries.* His Liverpool charge he speedily demitted,

* To the great surprise and chagrin of his friends, he, whether justly or not I cannot say, having been regarded by them as, up to that period, a firm and uncompromising supporter of Non-Intrusion principles.

and to him, no regular successor was, or could be appointed. For, besides the opposition which they had to encounter from certain members of the General Committee, the Trustees found themselves involved in other, and what at first appeared to be inextricable difficulties.

When Lord Derby agreed to sell the land in Scotland Road, it was on the express understanding, that a Church and School-house, in connexion with the Established Church of Scotland, were to be built on it. Nothing but missives passed on the occasion. After the completion of the edifice, regular title deeds became necessary. But to whom? And for what purpose? To persons adhering to the Scottish Established Church, his Lordship was perfectly ready to make over the property, and thereby to fulfil his engagement. Equitably, no less than legally considered, he was satisfied that he could not grant a conveyance to any others. And in this view, his lordship was backed and supported by several Scotch gentlemen, some of them members of the General Committee, and some of them subscribers to the building, who clung to the church established by law in the northern portion of the Island. This puzzled the Trustees. Not only were they themselves inclined to favour the Free-Kirk, but from the sentiments and temper of the Scotch population residing in the neighbourhood of St. Peter's, they saw clearly that to open it in connexion with the Church of Scotland would have been absurd, and in a pecuniary point of view ruinous. They would not perhaps, in that case, have had twenty hearers paying for seats and sittings. Meanwhile they, four in number, were obliged, in terms of contract, to make advances on the building, to the amount of nearly £4,000; its whole cost having been about £7,000, and some of the gentlemen who had undertaken to pay fifty pounds each as their contribution, having refused, under existing circumstances, to defray a single farthing of the expenses incurred. For some years, the situation of the trustees was truly embarrassing. They had advanced a considerable sum of money on the security of the edifice; and unless title deeds, with power of sale, and a clause enabling them to indemnify themselves could be procured, they were but too likely to be out of pocket to the whole amount. In this state, matters continued from the summer of 1843, till the month of February, 1847.

After Mr. Ferries' departure, 1843, the trustees, owing to the peculiar and critical situation in which they stood, would not sanction the calling

and ordination of any new minister; but allowed the Free-Kirk congregation merely on sufferance, and with the understanding that the door might be closed against them at any time, to worship within its walls. For some time, the vacant pulpit was supplied by probationers and ministers appointed to preach by the Lancashire Presbytery. At last, in May, 1845, Mr. John Wiseman received a call to become permanent minister. This necessitated the immediate removal of the congregation from St. Peter's, as the trustees were threatened with a prosecution, on the part of the adherents to the Scotch Establishment, in the event of their permitting the settlement of a pastor to take place. The church was shut up. Mr. Wiseman went back, with the congregation, to the Carpenters' Hall, Bond Street. Shortly afterwards dissension made its appearance among his followers. Supported by one party, he remained with them as their pastor, and struggled with difficulties until a year or two ago, when he abandoned his charge, and went to America. By the opposing party, steps were taken for the erection of another meeting-house on Free-Kirk principles, in the immediate neighbourhood. Land was procured by means of a mortgage, in Great Oxford Street North, nearly opposite to the eastern end of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields. To the structure reared on it, when completed, was given the name of St. Peter's; and over its congregation, Mr. Walter Smith was invited to preside as minister.

The Earl of Derby having, in February, 1847, made over the church in Scotland Road, and the ground on which it and the school-house had been erected to the four trustees, to be held in connexion with the Church of Scotland, but with power of sale in the event of certain conditions not being fulfilled on the part of the subscribers, steps were promptly taken to carry into effect the provisions contained in the deed of conveyance. Offers of the church were made to the minority of the general committee and to the subscribers, they indemnifying the trustees and others for all outlay of money on their part. These offers were not accepted. Under the circumstances, and after going through the other forms requisite, St. Peter's was brought to the hammer, on the 15th July, 1847. At the sale, it was knocked down at the price of £5,510 to the Liverpool and Bury Railway Company. And by them, as has previously been mentioned, it was conveyed to the Rev. Dr. Hillcoat, in exchange for the old church of St. Matthew's.

It is not to be supposed, however, that Dr. Hillcoat and his congregation

were put in immediate possession of the building. Considerable litigation followed the original arrangements, with the merits of which I am not particularly acquainted, only that, if I mistake not, it turned on some legal nicety connected with the transference to the church given in exchange, of a sum of money payable out of the Queen Anne's Bounty Fund, which had been previously secured on the abandoned edifice.* At last, matters were adjusted;—the transfer took place;—necessary alterations were made;—and on taking possession of the church in 1849, its former name of St. Peter's was superseded by that of St. Matthew's, by which it is now known.

Thus after the lapse of more than ten years from the time when the subject was first formally mooted, and after much toil, immense anxiety, and the surmounting of numerous difficulties, what had been originally started as a Scotch Kirk, ended in becoming one of the churches belonging to the English Establishment, in this town.

Tantæ molis erat condere—ecclesiam.

4.—*St. Mary's, or the Church for the Blind.*

All our Guide-books and Directories, from 1819 till 1850, make mention of this church as standing in Duncan Street East, now Hotham Street, at the corner of Great Nelson, now Lord Nelson Street. In vain, however, will the stranger now look for it there. Nothing remains to indicate that any edifice, much less an ecclesiastical one, once occupied the spot.

The fact is, that the ground on which the church originally stood, having been required by the London and North Western Railway Company, for the enlargement of their *terminus*, the church itself, which had been constructed in 1818-19,† was, after protracted negociations, removed, and a place for its erection having been selected in Hardman Street, at the corner of Hope Street, (the other buildings constituting the Asylum of the Blind being set down close to it in Hardman Street), it there made its appearance again, rising, phœnix-like, exactly as it had stood for thirty years in Hotham Street.‡ Not a stone is altered in its position. And, except that the church fronts the north, instead of the west, and that the entrance to it is obtained now from the sides only, not the slightest difference can be de-

* Was there not some difference of opinion between Dr. Hillcoat and the Railway Company, as to the value of the ground in front of the old chapel?

† Foundation stone laid, 6th October, 1818; opened 6th October, 1819.

‡ It is said that the erection of this church was the first act of our present worthy chief Magistrate (Samuel Holme, Esq.) as a builder, and the removal of it his last.

tected between what it was, and what it is. Its removal took place in 1850. The church of the Asylum of the Blind now forms one of a cluster of public buildings, which by the variety, grandeur, and beauty of their respective designs, are eminently calculated to strike the eye of the beholder.

To describe at any length an edifice like the Church of the Blind, which every stranger of taste will make a point to visit, and concerning which any Guide-book may be consulted, is out of the question. Suffice it to say that the design was furnished by Mr. Foster, the well-known architect; and that its elegant portico, facing the north, is said to be a copy of that attached to the Temple of Jupiter Panhellenius, in the island of Ægina.

In the interior, is a small organ gallery, and the musical portion of the services is conducted by the blind pupils themselves. When the church occupied its former site in Hotham Street, the inmates of the Asylum entered it by means of an underground passage cut in the solid rock.*

I may be permitted to observe, with regard to the Asylum of the Blind in Liverpool, that it was first set on foot in the year 1790.† About the beginning of this century, the Rev. William Blundell, B.A., one of the parish curates, (1800), and afterwards incumbent of St. Anne's,‡ (1803), became its chaplain,‖ and continued to give the charity the benefit of his services in that capacity, until the erection of the church in 1819, when he resigned his office.

From the period of the building of St. Mary's until now, 1819—1852, the Rev. Edward Hull, M.A., has been minister of the church, and has

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* For further particulars, see Lacey's "Pictorial Liverpool," p.p., 202 and 204.

† Claims to its origination have been set up in behalf of Mr. Edward Rushton, the poet, father of our late stipendiary magistrate.

‡ It may be interesting to the Society to be informed, that the only member of the episcopal bench taken from among the Liverpool clergy, was once minister of this church. In the course of 1784, the Rev. Claudius (called in the old Liverpool Directories, Cornelius), Crigan, D.D. was by the then Duke of Atholl, promoted to the Bishopric of Sodor and Man. The Doctor was the first incumbent of St. Ann's, having been presented to the benefice as soon as the building was completed, on the 25th October, 1772.—Moss, p. 146. Concerning this prelate, Gilbert Wakefield speaks respectfully in his "Memoirs," p. 178. Smithers has related the gossip of the time, as regards the cause of Dr. Crigan's appointment to the vacant see of Man. I suspect that he has committed at least one mistake in this story. The party to whom he alludes as having been the bishop's intended successor, was, if I remember right, not a son, but a brother of the then feudal sovereign of the neighbouring isle. Besides, did not Dr. Crigan's episcopate extend to more than twenty-five years? See Smithers' "History of Liverpool," p. 435.

‖ He was also secretary.

discharged the other clerical duties incumbent on the chaplain of one of our most valuable institutions. Under his auspices, the charity has flourished. Mr. Hull is well known as preaching to one of the most genteel and intelligent congregations in Liverpool, and as the author of more than one able and spirited pamphlet;* while his occasional contributions to our local papers are always characterised by superior excellence, and have often turned out to be very useful. Indeed, the character, varied attainments, talents, and zeal in behalf of the charity with which he is connected, of Mr. Hull, rank too high, and are too well appreciated to stand in need of any eulogium of mine.

5.—*St. Simon's.*

On the spot now occupied by this building, stood formerly a meeting-house, or chapel, erected about 1808, by a body of individuals, chiefly indeed exclusively from the north, in connexion with the Associate, or Burgher Synod of Scotland. This class of dissenters was then known among their countrymen by the name of Seceders.† A fusion of the Burgher and Anti-burgher divisions of this body ‡ took place in 1819, when they assumed the appellation of the United Secession Church. And, about 1847 or 1848, the Scotch Synod of Relief§ having joined them, their present style is, the United Presbyterian Church ||

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* Sometimes, I have been conscious of a feeling of regret, that a man of Mr. Hull's learning and classic purity of taste, has not favoured the world with some larger and longer production, than any that has yet issued from his pen. But, perhaps, he proceeds on the axiom, μεγα βιβλιον, μεγα κακον.

† The Scotch Secession body owed its origin to the withdrawal of Messrs. E. Erskine, Fisher, Moncrieff, and Wilson, from the Established Church of Scotland in 1732.

‡ Early in the history of the Secession Church, a dispute having arisen as to the duty of its members to take the Burgess Oath, which was then imposed on all persons commencing business within the precincts of Scottish corporations, a "split" took place in 1747: those who agreed to take the oath being denominated Burghers, and those refusing to do so, Anti-burghers. Mr. Ebenezer Erskine headed the one party, and Mr. Moncrieff the other. Great bitterness of spirit evinced in various ways, prevailed on the part of both sections of seceders towards each other. The breach was repaired in 1819, after the lapse of 72 years, by the various municipalities agreeing to dispense with the imposition of the oath.

§ Deriving its origin from Mr. Gillespie, minister of Carnock, in Fife. This gentleman was deposed by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland in 1752, for refusing to concur in the settlement of Mr. Richardson as minister of Inverkeithing, the people of that parish having almost unanimously "reclaimed" against him. Several ministers who objected to the exercise of patronage, and wished to have congregations relieved from that oppression as they deemed it, by being invested with the power of choosing their own pastors, joined Mr. Gillespie, and laid the foundation of the Relief Synod.

|| These united Seceding and Relief people form a very powerful and intelligent body, consisting of at least 500 ministers and congregations. Some Seceders, however, keep aloof from the Association. A party of these have very recently joined the Free-Kirk of Scotland. See Acts of F. K. General Assembly, Tuesday, June 1, 1852.

The first minister of the Scotch Secession Chapel was Mr. John Stewart, afterwards D.D., a native of Dornoch, near Annan, in Scotland,* who had for some years taken the pastoral charge of a congregation in the neighbourhood of Perth. This gentleman's character was excellent, and he possessed talents of a superior order, which were evinced in several publications of his, especially in his Treatise on Baptism, written in opposition to the views maintained by Mr. Henry Paice, and in his sermon on the Eldership. †

The present St. Simon's Church is not the original meeting-house. That edifice which, like the present, was in Gloucester Street, (then running down to the New Haymarket), having stood at the corner of Silver Street, and occupied a somewhat elevated position, was at first familiarly known by the appellation of Silver Hill Chapel. It was tolerably large and commodious, containing a gallery, as well as pews below, but was very plain in its external appearance. From it, the congregation and their pastor removed in June, 1827, to their present large and elegant place of worship at the corner of Mount Pleasant and Great Orford Street.

Dr. Stewart, who had continued to labour among his people with great assiduity and marked acceptance, from about the year 1809, was compelled at last, by the growing infirmities of age, to solicit and receive the assistance of a colleague To act in this capacity, Mr. Hugh Crichton was appointed. Their joint-pastorship began in 1838. Notwithstanding the aid thus seasonably afforded, Dr. Stewart's life was not long protracted He died 7th October, 1840. Since that time, owing to the delicate state of Mr., now Dr. Crichton's health, Mr. William Graham has been chosen to co-operate with him in the work of the ministry.

When deserted by the Scotch Seceders, Gloucester Street Chapel passed into the hands of the Independents. Mr. James Widdows having quitted the chapel in Russell Street, in which, for several years, he had officiated, about 1828 became its minister. There he remained about ten years. His successor was Mr. P. Strutt.

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* Brother of Andrew Stewart, M.D., minister of Erskine, and of Mr. David Stewart, one of the ministers of the Secession Church, Stirling.

† We must be careful to distinguish between Dr. John Stewart, minister of Gloucester Street and Mount Pleasant Chapels, here, and Mr. John Stewart, who was for nine or ten months in 1823 minister of Oldham Street Kirk in this town, was inducted into the charge of the parish of Sorn, Ayrshire, in 1824, and became incumbent of the parish of Libberton, near Edinburgh, (where he now is,) in 1843. Nobody, surely, will commit the mistake of confounding either gentleman with the present worthy rector of West Derby.

Having been acquired by the Church of England, the chapel was opened and consecrated in 1841. Some changes and repairs were then made upon it. These enabled it to be used for several years as a place of worship in connexion with the Establishment. But in process of time, the old structure was taken down, and now, in its stead, there meets the eye, a large and handsome edifice in the Gothic style fronting the west,* with a tall and elegant spire, and standing almost close to the brink of the *terminus* of the London and North Western Railway. In its present form, the church was opened and consecrated in 1848.

Since becoming connected with the Established Church, St. Simon's has had for its active and energetic incumbent, the Rev. John R. Conor, M.A., who had previously for some time taken charge of a congregation, meeting for religious worship, in the small chapel, Sir Thomas's Buildings; that chapel having, during his ministrations there, borne temporarily the name of St. Simon's.

6.—*St. Mary's, Harrington Street.*

Concerning this building, which appears never to have been a place of much consequence, a few remarks may suffice.

Moss, in his "History of Liverpool," 1795, thus describes it, "This chapel is situate in Harrington Street, and has nothing outwardly to recommend it to notice. It is a plain, decent chapel; has a flight of stairs to the galleries from the principal entrance; these galleries are supported by seven slender iron columns; the whole is well lighted by large windows with circular heads. Three small compositions in plaister ornament the ceiling. There is a good organ over the west gallery, and on the face thereof underneath is a small king's arms. There is no chancel: a flat neat altar is all that is seen, with a few external ornaments; and [there is] a picture of the Ascension in oil placed in a circle, which appears to have been the performance of a capital master." p. 151.

We are indebted to Mr. Herdman, for having, in his splendid "Pictorial Relics," 1844, supplied us with the following additional particulars in regard to St. Mary's:—"There was a church formerly in Harrington,

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* It occupies more ground than its predecessor—reaching from Silver Street to White Mill Street.

(originally Castle Hey), built * by a Rev. Mr. Bragg, a clergyman of Liverpool. It was a brick building, on the right hand side, just below Marshall Street, † now converted into warehouses. ('On the site of this church, Downward and Mann's sugar-house was built.' ‡—*Author).* It was called St. Mary's. The people who left St. Mary's obtained the old meeting-house in Key Street from the Unitarians, which was consecrated by the name of St. Matthew's Church.--MSS. of Dr. Raffles." Again, "we have been informed on living authority, that St. Mary's Church, Harrington Street, was strictly Church of England; and that the congregation did not remove to any other place of worship but became dispersed. The church was licensed, but not consecrated." These quotations constitute two notes at the bottom of page 48 of Mr. Herdman's work.

On perusing what precedes, one can not help cherishing a wish for somewhat more information as to the views and movements of those who frequented this extinct place of worship.

All that I would remark further, in reference to St. Mary's, Harrington, is, that it was opened for divine worship, on the 10th day of March, 1776, §

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* Lacey says, "Pictorial Liverpool," p. 79, that it "was a Dissenting Chapel" in Harrington Street, that was opened as a Church, by Mr. Bragg, in 1776. Consequently the building must have been erected previous to that time. Could this have been the original "Castle Hey Chapel" of the Presbyterians, or, at all events, could Mr. Bragg's Church have been raised on its site? Observe, "there was no chancel."

† How could this be? Marshall Street, as I remember it, 1823-1825, reached only from Cable Street to Lord Street. To render the quotation consistent with fact, John Street, or a portion of it must have been called Marshall Street. A little explanation may set it all to rights. In the oldest maps of Liverpool, it will be observed that John Street extended only from Dale Street to Harrington Street; and that Love Lane terminated at Cable Street. There was then no prolongation of John Street into Lord Street on the one hand, or of Love Lane into Lord Street on the other. John Street and Love Lane were, however, in due time connected; a Street having been run directly from the one to the other, through Lord Street. To the whole of this it is shewn by one map, now in the Athenæum Library, that the name of Marshall Street was given. During the period when it was so named, St. Mary's was fitly described as being in Harrington Street, "just below Marshall Street." Afterwards, "New John Street" was the name applied to that portion of Marshall street which extended from Harrington Street to Lord Street; Marshall Street, from that time until the widening of the whole line of street, having been confined to the part lying between Lord Street and Cable Street. Now we find "North John Street" the common name of all that section which runs from Dale to Lord Street; and "South John Street," of what formerly bore the names of Marshall Street, Love Lane, and Trafford Lane. In the maps of Liverpool, for 1803 and 1807, St. Mary's Church will be seen placed in Harrington Street, between "New John's Street," (North John Street), and "Doran Lane."

‡ Burnt down, if I mistake not, about 1810.

§ See Lacey, p. 79. Also, the "Annals" in Gore's Directory. Was not 1777 rather the year in which the opening of St. Mary's took place?

and was taken down in March, 1809; that during its existence, it is always found enumerated among the churches and chapels belonging to the Establishment in the Liverpool directories; and that the only clergymen whom I can discover to have regularly officiated in it, were the Rev. Joseph Bragg, * and the Rev. John Vickers, or Viccars; the former from its opening, until about 1804, and the latter for some time subsequently. In 1807, it seems to have had no stated chaplain.

7.—*St. Matthias, (former and present).*

Few, if any, public edifices in Liverpool have had so ephemeral an existence, and of few is the existence, such as it was, so little known as that of the former church of St. Matthias. †

Probably, one of the chief means of bringing it under the notice of future generations, will be Gage's map of Liverpool, 1835. A glance at that very valuable document will serve to shew, that it had on two sides of it one of the public ways denominated Love Lane, ‡ having been likewise bounded by Emma-Anne and Thornton Streets. The Leeds and Liverpool Canal was in close proximity to it. As I believe the lane and streets to which I have just alluded are all now swept away, the enquirer, unable to discover its whereabouts otherwise, may be directed to look for it on Gage's map, a little to the northward of the Borough Gaol, and to the eastward of Great Howard Street.

This church, which was exceedingly neat, but low and unimposing in its appearance, contained 1,050 sittings, of which 500 were free. It was opened in July, 1834.

The Rev. John B. Winstanley, M.A., || an exceedingly amiable young

* A respected friend informs me, that in his younger days, St. Mary's was familiarly and commonly spoken of as "Bragg's Church;" and that Mr. Bragg's religious sentiments were considered peculiar.

† It was intended originally to have borne another name—at least, so says the Liverpool Mercury, when giving an account of the laying of the foundation stone.

‡ Love Lane, at St. Matthias' Church, south east corner, was bent nearly into the form of a right angle.

|| Son of the Rev. Calvin Winstanley, M.A., (called Calvert Winstanley, in the Liverpool directories of 1796 and 1800), who officiated as curate of Trinity Church here, from 1794 or 1795 till 1812. Mr. Winstanley, sen., who died between twenty and thirty years ago, was well known and extremely successful as a teacher of youth. His schoolroom in 1823, and following years, was in Duke Street, nearly opposite Rathbone Street. He was a man of more than ordinary ability, and possessed considerable learning, as is evident from his "Elementa Grammatica Ciceroniana," 1802, and "A Vindication of certain passages in the English Version of the New Testament," 1805. Some remarks

man, and possessed of respectable, if not even superior abilities, with whom I had a slight acquaintance, was its first minister. Having been appointed chaplain to the St. James' Cemetery—where he died suddenly about 1836,—he was succeeded by the Rev. Edward Spencer, A.B. This gentleman also was, for some time after Mr. Winstanley's death, officiating minister at the St. James' Cemetery. The Rev. Richard Walker, incumbent of Great Crosby, was, in 1844, nominated also to the incumbency of St. Matthias.

After a very brief occupancy of the then recently erected place of worship on the part of Mr. Walker, operations connected with the formation of the *terminus*, and the construction of warehouses of the Liverpool and Bury, and other Railways, having rendered its demolition necessary, it, along with many private houses, was pulled down.* Streets even were at the same time obliterated. A great change has been the result. Indeed, the whole aspect of that locality has been made to undergo so complete an alteration, that I would defy any person conversant with it twenty years ago, and now re-visiting it for the first time after having been absent from Liverpool during that interval, by any possibility to recognize it.

According to agreement, a new church also called St. Matthias was erected by the railway company, instead of the one which it was intended to demolish. In March, 1848, the foundation-stone was laid, and it was consecrated in April, 1849. Its exterior, which is Gothic, and somewhat elevated, differs totally from that of its predecessor; but as the amount of the sittings is 1,070, it will be observed, by looking back a few sentences, that the internal capacity of the former and present structures is not very dissimilar. The present St. Matthias is situated in Great Howard Street, between Vulcan and Porter Streets.

Mr. Walker resides at Crosby, and the Rev. George Aspinall, Ph.D., officiates as curate.

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on the use of the subjunctive mood in Latin, which occur in a small Latin Grammar of his, and which I saw several years ago, struck me as valuable and useful. Mr. Winstanley became the object of much public sympathy, in consequence of one of his daughters having been killed by the falling of a chimney, on the night of the great storm of December 3rd and 4th, 1823.

* Rather, the former St. Matthias was burnt down. No doubt it had been doomed to destruction, and the foundation-stone of its successor had been laid; but, subsequently to the last named event, it took fire accidentally, April 10th, 1848, and was completely demolished: thus anticipating, as it were, its own sentence of condemnation. For directing my attention to this fact and two others, I gratefully acknowledge myself indebted to my friend, Dr. Hume.

8.—*St. George's.*

St. George's Church, as may be seen by a reference to any of our guide-books, occupies the site of the old castle of Liverpool. Although generally stated, it is not we suspect generally understood, that the church of the present day is not that which once caught the eye, and excited the admiration, as well of the inhabitant of the town as of the passing stranger.*

Such a minute description of the former St. George's Church is given in Moss's "History," pp. 136—139, as to supersede entirely the necessity of my entering into details. Parties who cannot procure Moss, may consult Enfield, Troughton, † Smithers, or Baines. Lacey, pp. 257 and 258, combines a satisfactory account of the church as it formerly was, with a brief narrative of the changes which it has undergone. Still a few remarks may be permitted.

The former St. George's Church was completed and consecrated in 1734. Views of it may be seen in Enfield's and Herdman's works. Its spire having been considered dangerous, on account of the unevenness of the foundation on which it rested, ‡ was taken down in the summer of 1809. § And I remember that the church itself was rebuilt piece-meal, after my coming to Liverpool in 1823. I say *piece-meal.* For, instead of throwing it down entirely, and then commencing the work of reconstruction, first one wall was taken down, and then another—the renovation of the exterior thus going on gradually, and the interior, in the meanwhile, being allowed to remain. The end wall towards Lord Street, is placed several feet more to the east than formerly was the case. In its present form, the church was re-opened for divine service, Sunday, September 11th, 1825. ||

Besides having an exterior that is attractive and imposing, and being got up in a style of great elegance internally, St. George's has other claims on

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* "The Church, on its completion, was spoken of as one of the handsomest in the Kingdom." Lacey.

† Whose account is minute, and critically excellent.

‡ It had been built on the site of the old moat.

§ "The first stone of the new tower was laid on the 9th March, 1819, by J. Blundell Hollingshead, Esq., Mayor, W. Molyneux, and N. Robinson, Esquires, Bailiffs." Lacey, p. 257. See also "Annals."

|| Lacey acquaints us, p. 258, that, "the steeple, previous to 1833, was considerably higher than at present, and terminated in a vane representing St. George and the Dragon. In a storm which occurred that year, November 29, it was materially shaken, and was for some time observed to vibrate in the gale. It was found necessary to take down part of the steeple, and complete it, as it now is. Its height is 214 feet."

our notice. It is the place of worship at which the mayor and corporation attend officially, and is honoured, during assize-time, by the presence of the judges. Its choir is excellent.

Several clergymen who have obtained subsequently the highest ecclesiastical preferments in the gift of the corporation,* have had an opportunity at St. George's, in the capacity of Chaplains and Lecturers, of previously edifying their patrons.† Indeed, the history of the ministers of this church is, in a majority of instances, the history of rectors of Liverpool. The Rev. Henry Wolstenholme,‡ author of two volumes of sermons, who was chaplain from 1734 till 1752; the Rev. Thomas Maddock, M.A.,§ (see Gilbert Wakefield's "Memoirs" respecting the period of his residence here), who officiated in the same capacity from 1752 till 1771; the Rev George Hodson, 1780 till 1784; the Rev. Samuel Renshaw, M.A.,‖ 1784 till 1794; and the Rev. Robert Hankinson Roughsedge,¶ M.A., (chaplain for some months

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* No longer so, the advowson to the Rectory being sold.

† Scarcely any member of this Society can be ignorant of the recent appearance of a work, entitled, "Liverpool, a few years since: by an Old Stager. London: Whittaker & Co. Liverpool: Deighton & Laughton. 1852." The book consists of twenty-five chapters, and extends to 159 pages. A copy of it was, by the politeness of Mr. Mather, presented to the Society, at its meeting in November. Although light in its texture, and dealing with the subjects of which it treats in the dashing, sketchy, off-hand manner, which best suits the readers of a newspaper, (its chapters made their appearance originally in the columns of the "Liverpool Albion,") it has many claims on our attention and regard. Leaving to others to expatiate on its easy, graceful, and gentlemanlike style, (only sparkling with by far too many false gems, and condescending to borrow by far too largely from the copious vocabulary of slang,) and on the happy manner in which it has embalmed many persons and events too evanescent otherwise to have escaped the ravaging influence of time, it is enough for my present purpose to observe, that its notices, generally and necessarily very brief, of the Liverpool clergy of a former day, are not among the least of its recommendations. As far as I am competent to judge, from personal knowledge of the parties mentioned, the delineations given are not merely graphic, but characterised by truth and impartiality. I shall make some use of the work in the way of reference.—By the bye, is it not to a well-known and talented clergyman—we will not say where—that we are indebted for this clever production?

‡ Absurdly spoken of as "Rector of St. Nicholas," by Smithers. He was one of the "Rectors of Liverpool," from 1752 till his death in 1771.

§ While minister of St. George's, he published, 1771, a Sermon, entitled, "Religion Necessary to the Being and Happiness of Society."

‖ Author of "Sermons" published 1792.

¶ The "Old Stager," chapter xx., pages 116—119, of his book, speaking of Messrs. Renshaw and Roughsedge, gives us some amusing and characteristic strokes, especially of the latter of them. We cannot but smile at the finale of the somewhat odd rencontre between the Bishop and the Ventriloquist. I well remember the two clerical gentlemen whose names have suggested this present note, when far advanced in life. Mr. Renshaw was of middling stature; Mr. Roughsedge was rather short, and exceedingly thin. Their respective characters seem to me, to have been fairly and happily sketched. I recollect the circumstance, first of Bishop Law, and afterwards of Bishop Blomfield,

of 1794), were all successively promoted from the living of St. George's to the incumbency of the parish. The Rev. Thomas Fishwick, 1771 till 1780; the Rev. Thomas Blundell,* 1795 till 1812; the Rev. Dr. Hodson, and the Rev. John Boughey Monk, M.A., the present minister, constitute the exceptions to the rule of promotion which, while the advowson to the rectories was in the hands of the corporation, prevailed with respect to the chaplains of St. George's.

Speaking of those whose previous services at this church secured to them, as vacancies occurred, a translation to the superior parochial livings, we are led irresistibly to say something of the two present worthy rectors, the Rev. Jonathan Brooks, M.A., Archdeacon of Liverpool, and one of the vice-presidents of our society, and the Rev. Augustus Campbell, M.A. Mr. Brooks, after having acted as lecturer at St. George's from 1813, succeeded Dr. Hodson, as chaplain, about 1822; and Mr. Campbell, who had been successively rector of Wallasey, and vicar of Childwall, was appointed to the lectureship at St. George's, about 1827. Messrs. Renshaw† and Roughsedge, the joint-parish incumbents, having died within a short time of each other, in the autumn of 1829, both medieties of the rectory thereby became vacant. Mr. Brooks almost immediately, and Mr. Campbell shortly afterwards, ‡ were elected by the common council to supply their places. And well have both gentlemen justified the sagacity of their patrons. Whether

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staying each for a brief space with Rector Roughsedge. By the way, the house in which he resided, and where the scene between the Bishop and Alexandré occurred, is the high and somewhat imposing mansion in Mount Pleasant, which stands third from Benson Street, as you go up towards Rodney Street. Next to it, and immediately above it, is the house which was long occupied by Mr. John Bourne, Mayor of Liverpool, 1812, 1813, and which subsequently came into the possession of Mr. Deane, the Attorney. Mr. Roughsedge's name was, if I recollect right, pronounced *Rustedge*.

* Respecting Mr. Thomas Blundell, of St. George's, (not Mr. Blundell of St. Anne's, whose christian name was William,) a few interesting remarks are dropped, in "Liverpool, a few years since," page 124. Mr. Mawdsley, Castle Street, has been good enough to inform me, that, to the best of his knowledge and belief, the Messrs. Blundell, William and Thomas, were cousins, and descendants of Bryan Blundell, the venerated founder of our Blue Coat School. A brother of the Rev. William Blundell, Bryan Blundell, Esq., held a high situation in the Custom House.

† "That kind-hearted man, Rector Renshaw," says the "Old Stager," p. 33, "lived here," Bold Street, "in a corner house, with its door opening upon Newington Bridge."

‡ To the chaplaincy of St. George's, and consequently to higher preferment, the inferior grade of lecturer was generally preliminary, and, looking at the established practice, might almost have been deemed indispensable. Dr. Hodson conformed to the rule; so likewise did Archdeacon Brooks. It was not until he had been about nine years lecturer, that the latter was elevated to the rank of chaplain. Mr. Campbell's case, it strikes me, is the only one in which a clergyman stepped all at once from the St. George's lectureship, into the rectory of the parish.

regarded as a clergyman, a magistrate, or a citizen, the claims of Mr. Brooks to distinction are unquestionable. Few events have been hailed with more pleasure, not merely by members of the Established Church, but by the community at large, than his elevation to the archdeaconry of Liverpool.* Copious reports of the sermons delivered by him on public occasions, always find their way into the newspapers. Nor are Mr. Campbell's literary and scientific attainments less conspicuous than those of his respected colleague. A sermon preached by him about 1824 or 1825, before the then Lord Bishop of Chester, (now Bishop of London), while he was rector of Wallasey, and subsequently published, attracted considerable notice at the time. Another production of his, which has since appeared, has contributed to deepen and strengthen the favourable impression which the former one had produced. Both rectors are decidedly men of business; and are remarkable for the tact, dignity, and impartiality with which they preside at parish and vestry meetings.

One other gentleman, ranking among the chaplains of St. George's of a former day, is entitled to special mention at our hands. I mean the Rev. Frodsham Hodson, D.D.† It may be interesting to the members of the society to be informed, that Liverpool claims him as her own, he having first seen the light here in 1770. His father, the Rev. George Hodson, after having been in succession lecturer and chaplain at St. George's, occupied the place of one of the parish rectors from 1784 till 1794, (April). Young Hodson's career at college gave promise of future eminence. Along with the Rev. Thomas Blundell as chaplain, he was chosen lecturer of St. George's in 1795.‡ To the chaplaincy he succeeded in 1812 or 1813. Prior to that time, however, 1809, his great merits and attainments had occasioned his appointment to the dignity of Principal of Brazen-Nose College in the University of Oxford. Under the circumstances, constant residence in Liverpool, on Dr. Hodson's part, was out of the question. An

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* Mr. Brooks is the first clergyman by whom this preferment has been held.

† Easily distinguishable from William Ballantyne Hodgson, LL.D., who, from about 1839, was for eight or nine years first secretary, and then principal of the Mechanics' Institution, Liverpool.

‡ Not only had one mediety of the rectory been vacated by the death of Dr. Hodson's father, which Mr. Renshaw had been chosen to fill in May 1794, but the death of the Rev. Thomas Dannett, the other rector, soon afterwards, had occasioned the promotion of Mr. Roughsedge to the vacant office. In this way, two clergymen were required for the charges at St. George's.

assistant chaplain, in the first instance, the Rev. James Hamer, M.A.,* and subsequently the Rev. William Pulford, D.D., discharged in his absence, the duties which devolved on him at St. George's. His death took place 1821 or 1822. Dr. Hodson, in addition to his clerical and academical rank, is understood to have been the representative of an old and respectable family in Cheshire. †

The remainder of the history of the clergy of St. George's need not detain us long. When Mr. Brooks became chaplain 1822, the Rev. James Case, M.A., was appointed lecturer. A disease of the eye—amaurosis, I believe—put a stop, at an early period, to his clerical career. His successor was Mr. Campbell. And on the election of Mr. Brooks, and Mr. Campbell to the joint-rectory in 1829, the Rev. J. B. Monk, and the Rev. T. G. Leigh were nominated respectively to the vacated situations of chaplain and lecturer, the former of which Mr. Monk still retains.

It appears by the report of Mr. Shuttleworth, the present town clerk, to which I have once already had occasion to allude, that, in terms of an Act

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* A few interesting lines respecting this gentleman, and the brevity of his career, will be found in the earlier part of the xxi. chapter of the "Old Stager's" book. See page 124.

† Upon none of the clergy whom he notices, does the "Old Stager" dwell longer, or with more intense delight, than on Frodsham Hodson. He evidently writes about him *con amore*. Anecdotes of him, and strictures on his talents and character, occupy by far the greater portion of his xxi. chapter. Well, indeed, might this able writer have been attracted—fascinated, I might say—by such a man. Never, perhaps, has a brighter star, in respect of strength of intellect and scholastic attainments, graced the theological galaxy of the "good old Town." Frodsham Hodson was in himself a host. He might not be particularly pious. His demeanour, in the University might be rather too overbearing and imperious. But he was emphatically, what Thomas Carlyle so much desiderates, *a man*. He might be undervalued and overlooked in Liverpool; but his academical contemporaries understood and appreciated him. He possessed the stuff of which rising men are made, and there can be no doubt, that, had his life been spared, his highest ambition would have been crowned with success. No wonder that such a man has arrested the "Old Stager's" attention. No wonder that he speaks of him with *gusto*. Such of his readers as knew the man, will, I have every reason to think, be ready to participate with the author equally in his admiration and his regret.

Knowing as I do the lively interest with which spots that have been hallowed by the residence, or even by the footsteps of the illustrious deceased are apt to be regarded, and believing Dr. Hodson to have been, out of sight, one of the most illustrious clergymen, if not the most so, in an intellectual point of view, whom Liverpool has produced, I may mention, that, by means of the local Directories, we are able to point to his several places of abode here after having been appointed to St. George's, 1795. 1st. In 1796 and 1800, he resided at 13, Great George's Street. 2nd. In 1803, 4, 5, and 7, his place of abode was in Duke Street, No. 72, or 74, or 76, for it is variously stated. (Was not this the large long house in Duke Street, corner of Suffolk Street, purchased by John M'Culloch, Esq., surgeon, about 1811, and inhabited by him for many years afterwards?) During these periods, he was a lodger with Elizabeth Hodson, I presume his mother or sister. 3rd. Probably after his marriage, he took up his abode at 36, Mount Pleasant.

Thus briefly is dismissed the history of an edifice, many circumstances connected with which justify a more minute and detailed notice, on the part of those who have occasion to treat of local religious affairs.

It is understood to have been built expressly for the Rev. Robert Banister, A.B., (who had for some time been one of the parish curates, and in that capacity had become exceedingly popular,) by his attached friends. If I am not misinformed, it was originally intended that this gentleman should have been minister of Christ Church.* When, however, in consequence of the currency of reports to which it is undesirable and unnecessary more particularly to advert, Mr. Houghton, the builder of that noble edifice, † saw meet to change his mind on the subject, the late Mr. Richard Walker, and some others, who espoused Mr. Banister's cause, and considered him to have been ill-used, erected "All Saints," and made a present of it to him. Troughton says, p. 384, that the church "was purchased by the Rev. Robert Banister, A.B., sole proprietor, and the present incumbent."‡

Possession of this church Mr. Banister retained, and in it he continued to officiate, until his death, April 3rd, 1829. For a long series of years, he was probably the most popular minister in Liverpool. Although nominally in connexion with the Church of England, his attachment to it appears to have been by no means particularly strong. Not only was the building allowed to remain unconsecrated during his lifetime, and were modifications of the liturgy introduced, but for some time before his death, I have reason to think that he performed divine service, without an episcopal license. One thing I know, that he occasionally admitted dissenters to his pulpit. I remember distinctly having heard the well-known William Gadsby, of Manchester, a Baptist minister, preach there one week-day evening, in the year 1826; and having accompanied the late Mr. William Rushton, jun. and Mr. Gadsby after sermon into the vestry, where I was introduced to Mr. Banister, and where I saw him paid for the use of his church by Mr. Rushton.

Want of time and space prevents me from dwelling at length on the

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* The report is confirmed by the language of Lacey, in his "Pictorial Liverpool," p. 84.

† Opened 1798 as a dissenting place of worship, or, at all events, as a chapel in which the service of the Church of England was to be used with some modifications. Subsequently, however, 1800, it was consecrated. Troughton mentions its cost as having been £18,000 and upwards.

‡ This author's History of Liverpool appeared in 1810.

character and labours of Mr. Banister. This circumstance I deeply regret. The gentleman in question acted in his time too conspicuous a part, and his local influence over the so-called Evangelical portion of a whole generation of Churchmen was too great, to justify any one treating professedly of Liverpool men, and Liverpool affairs,—especially those of a religious nature,—in passing him over, or even in bestowing upon him only a brief and cursory notice. To the necessities of the case alone do I submit. Not that Mr. Banister was a man of brilliant or commanding talents. Quite the reverse. As I saw him in advanced life, he had a heavy, although not entirely unintellectual look; and according to the best information which I can obtain, he never had any pretensions to rank among those who have stood high, and been distinguished in the art of oratory. Mr. Banister was, I suspect, one qualified to shine only in the absence of his superiors, or, rather, by contrast with his inferiors.

Velut inter ignes
Luna nimores.

Mr. Samuel Walter, nephew of the late Mr. Lewin of Liverpool, who for many years was a Swedenborgian minister and a teacher of youth in this town, tells me, that our present subject was slow and deliberate, sometimes even apparently cold and unimpassioned in his utterance. Altogether, he says, a preacher of whom it could not with truth have been asserted, that he was an eloquent man. What, then, constituted the secret of the power which for a long time he wielded and exercised over large, attentive, and deeply interested auditories? Without superior abilities—without rhetorical artifices and flourishes—without any thing peculiarly dignified or striking in his personal appearance—what was the magic by which for years he charmed and captivated hundreds, I might be justified in saying thousands of his townsmen? It may be replied, by the subject-matter of his discourses. The answer, I believe, to be a correct one. At a time when "Extract of Blair," to use the "Old Stager's" phrase,* was regarded by too many of the Established Clergy both in and out of Liverpool, (and by too many Dissenting Ministers likewise,) as a panacea for every moral and

* "Nothing was heard from our own pulpits but what might have passed muster at Athens, or been preached without offence in the mosque of Constantinople. In fact, 'Extract of Blair' was the dose administered, Sunday after Sunday, by drowsy preachers to drowsy congregations. If it did no harm, it did no good."—*Liverpool, a few years since*, p. 109. As regards *Blairism*, see further what is said by this clever writer, when speaking of one of our beneficed clergymen, of a former day, at page 116.

spiritual malady, and copiously administered by them to their hearers accordingly,* Mr. Banister took a different course. Along with the Rev. W. Wise, then incumbent of St. James',† he put to the test the efficacy of another mode of treatment. He proclaimed the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ as the sole grounds of hope towards God to guilty man; and followed up the proclamation by appeals to the conscience founded on these revealed and heavenly verities. One effect of this, in Mr. Banister's case, was to elevate him to the rank of the most popular Church Clergyman of his day. Combined with the attractions of the doctrine which he preached, there was, I have been told—and this especially in the earlier part of his career—something peculiarly solemn, earnest, and impressive in his manner. Not affectedly so, for he was the embodiment of simplicity itself. Still, when speaking, he made himself to be felt. The way in which he read the service of the Church was easy, familiar, and even conversational, but it told upon his fellow worshippers. Having thus beforehand suitably impressed and prepared their minds, he delivered to them a plain, forcible and scriptural sermon. Need we, when made acquainted with these particulars, feel astonished at his success? Mr. Walter, who knew Mr. Banister well, and to whom I have been indebted for much information concerning him, has been kind enough to inform me, that a reason far more creditable to that gentleman, than the one commonly assigned—namely, his faithfulness and fearless honesty in dealing with the conscience of his intended patron—cost him the living of Christ Church. Let this be recorded to his honour.

Some time after Mr. Banister's death in 1829, All Saints came into the possession of the Rev. Henry Tudsbury Turner, a truly excellent man, then having deacons' orders in the Church of England. This gentleman has since been admitted to full orders by the present Archbishop of Canterbury, and is now settled at Bardsley, Ashton-under-Lyne. What followed Mr. Turner's temporary occupation of All Saints is so singular, and brings on the

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* I cannot conceive anything better, or more happily expressed, than the estimate of "Blair's (Hugh) Sermons," given by the "Old Stager," at page 109, of his volume, almost immediately after the passage just quoted.

† One of the few mistakes, (as far as known to me,) committed by the "Old Stager," is when he says, at the commencement of chapter xix.: "None of the Evangelical clergy had then," 40 or 50 years since, "appeared in this district, to stimulate the pace of the old-fashioned jog-trot High Church-men." He happens to have forgotten that first Mr. Wise, at St. James', and then, when his star began to pale in the ascendant, Mr. Banister, had, as "the salt of" the Established Church here, kept it from a state of absolute putrefaction. They were not certainly fiery zealots; but they were calm, conscientious, decided, efficient men.

tapis a person of such notoriety, that we may well be indulged in some copiousness of detail.

Towards the end of the year 1827, there appeared in Liverpool, the Rev. George Montgomery West.* This individual, a native of Ireland, and for some time labouring as a local preacher among the Wesleyan Methodists there, had visted the United States of America, and been brought into contact with the Right Rev. Philander Chase, then Bishop of Ohio, in connexion with the American Episcopal Church. By this Bishop, who had been struck with his eloquence and other ministerial gifts, and to whom he had been specially recommended by Lord Kenyon, and other influential personages in England, first deacons' and then priests' orders were conferred on Mr. West, in 1827.† To the former orders, he was admitted *sub dio*, or, to use the bishop's phraseology in his official letters, "beneath the spreading trees of Marriott Park, in view of Kenyon College, on the banks of Vernon River, near Gambier, Knox County, State of Ohio, North America." Fortified with the Bishop's credentials, as well as with commissions on the part of that prelate, to act as his chaplain, and to raise funds throughout the British Islands, for the purpose of assisting in the erection of the buildings of Kenyon College, Mr. West returned to this country.

The American Bishops deriving their authority, partly from a gentleman who had been consecrated by prelates of the Scottish Episcopal Church, after the acknowledgment of the Independence of the United States in 1783,‡ but principally from parties consecrated in this country by the hierarchy of the Church of England, under powers specially granted by an Act of Parliament passed in 1787, the validity of Mr. West's ordination was at once and unhesitatingly recognised on this side of the Atlantic.§

* A.M. of Kenyon College, Gambier, Ohio.—The following copy of the diploma issued by this infant Academical institution of our Transatlantic friends, may not be unacceptable or uninteresting to some members of the Society:—"Praeses et Professores Collegii in Republica, Ohio, omnibus literarum studiosis: Salutem in Domino sempiternam. Vobis notum sit, quod Dominum GEORGIUM MONTGOMERY WEST, titulo, graduque Artium liberalium Magistri adornavimus et condecoravimus, et ei fruenda contulimus omnia et singula privilegia, honores atque dignitates quæ ubique gentium ad eundem gradum pertinent. Cujus sigillum et autographum præsidis in testimonium sint. Datum ex ædibus academicis," (query, was any permanent building then in existence?) "die undevigesimo Junii, anno salutis millesimo octingentesimo, vigesimo septimo.

PHILANDER CHASE." L.S.

† On the 10th and 17th days of June, 1827, respectively.

‡ See Bishop Skinner, of Aberdeen's History of the Scottish Episcopalians.

§ Notwithstanding, by the way, some great and very serious changes made in the language of the liturgy, as used in the United States. Changes, I mean beyond those which were absolutely required by the republican nature of the American Institutions.

Admission to the pulpits of the Established Church followed as a matter of course. Rapidly did he make his way to public favour; and of no preacher in this locality at the time could it be alleged with truth, that he was more decidedly popular. Liverpool was one of the principal scenes of his ministerial labours. From 1827 till 1830 he was in the habit of constantly addressing audiences of our townspeople. St. Mark's, St. Andrew's, and other churches have often resounded with his powerful appeals and inspiriting harangues. The best proof of the influence acquired by him is, that the Liverpool contributions made, under the sanction of the diocesan and clergy,* towards the promotion of the ostensible object for which he had come to Europe, were numerous and liberal. Not to Liverpool, or its neighbourhood, however, were his exertions confined. The cause of Bishop Chase, and Mr. West as his agent, having been espoused by the two English, and the (then) four Irish Archbishops, and a most imposing array of their respective suffragans, (besides many of the nobility and gentry), the pulpits of many churches were thrown open to Mr. West—those of several Irish cathedrals among the rest; and copious streams from that never-failing source, British bounty, continued to flow into the American Episcopal exchequer. At last, bearing with him the gifts of the faithful, and commended in the strongest terms, for his efforts in the good cause, Mr. West went back to the United States in 1830.

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* Mr. West adduces the following documents in proof of this:—1. A letter addressed to him by the then Lord Bishop of Chester, Dr. Blomfield, (now Bishop of London), the closing sentence of which is "Sincerely wishing that you may be successful to *the extent of your wants*, and commending you to the protection of Him in whose service we are engaged, I remain, Rev. Sir, your faithful friend and servant, C. J. CHESTER." 2. A recommendation of several Liverpool Clergymen. "In consideration of this excellent work, and in consequence of the strong recommendation of our bishop, we, the undersigned, who have had an opportunity of seeing Mr. West, desire to add our names and testimony of approbation to his important mission. And we sincerely pray, that, through the divine blessing on his labours, the great and laudable object of them may speedily meet a full accomplishment,—

"Richard Blacow, A.M.,	W. Goddard, A.M.,
T. S. Bowstead, A.M.,	J. Jones, A.M.,
Jon. Brooks, A.M.,	William Rawson, A.M.,
R. P. Buddicom, A.M., F.A.S.,	William Scoresby,
Augustus Campbell, A.M.,	C. L. Swainson, A.M.,
Ambrose Dawson, B.D.,	T. Tattershall, A.M.,
C. T. Gladwin, LL.B.,	H. T. Turner."

The succeeding Bishop of Chester, Dr. Sumner, (1829,) now, 1852, Archbishop of Canterbury was also, it appears, friendly to the cause advocated by Mr. West to which he presented a donation of £10; signifying at the same time, how much it would gratify him to find that the clergy of his diocese were favourable to the measure, and ready to promote its beneficial purpose among their respective congregations.

What happened on Mr. West's arrival may be cursorily touched on. Bishop Chase's reception of his deputy was not exactly the pleasantest in the world. A quarrel between the two gentlemen ensued. The Bishop, in a report or address delivered by him before the Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal clergy of Ohio, assembled at Gambier, on Wednesday, September 8, 1830, made allegations, or, at all events broad insinuations unfavourable to Mr. West's integrity. That gentleman defended himself in a long and clever pamphlet, of 64 pp., published at New York, towards the close of the year just named.* A copy of this work, which contains a copious Appendix, is now in my possession. Upon the merits of the dispute between Bishop Chase and Mr. West, I do not venture to pronounce an opinion.

To return to Mr. Turner and the church of All Saints.

This gentleman having taken the church on lease shortly after Mr. Banister's death in 1829, and being himself only in deacons' orders, wished to combine with his own, the services of some one capable of discharging the priestly functions. Mr. West's popularity in Liverpool, as well as throughout the kingdom, was not unknown to him. Nay, he had for some time ranked himself among that preacher's warmest admirers. Under these circumstances, to procure Mr. West's aid and co-operation at All Saints, seemed to him to be indispensable to his own success. Whether or not conversation on the subject had taken place before that gentleman's return to America, I am unable to say. But, at all events, an invitation to him to become joint-pastor was despatched across the Atlantic. He acceded to the request. About the beginning of 1831, we find him again in Liverpool; and thenceforward, for some time at least, the congregation of All Saints was edified by the united ministrations of Mr. Turner and himself.

Singularly enough, Mr. West came back to England, not only as victorious in the controversy which he had maintained with the American prelate, but likewise claiming the *status* and privileges of a bishop for himself. Not of the Church of England, but of the Episcopal Church of America, or, rather as he afterwards expressed it, of the Primitive Episcopal Church.

* Its title is, "Reply to certain statements set forth by Bishop Chase, and contained in his Report or Address delivered before the Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Ohio, on Wednesday, September 8, 1830; and afterwards by him published in the *Gambier Observer*, of September 10, 1830. By George Montgomery West. With an Appendix. New York: Printed by William A. Mercein, No. 240, Pearl Street, 1830."

His right to this dignity he was not slow in asserting and vindicating. As to the grounds on which he rested his claim, these will be found stated and urged in his "Reply to Bishop Chase's statements," pp. 26, 29, 34, and 38; and in the "Primitive Episcopal Church Magazine," three numbers of which appeared in the months of April, May, and June, 1832.†

The following resolutions adopted by the minister, church wardens, and vestry of All Saints' Church shew, that Mr. West's claim to the possession of Episcopal rank was easily and readily admitted by them:—"At a convention, or vestry meeting held at All Saints' Church, Grosvenor Street, Liverpool, on the 18th day of February, in the year one thousand eight hundred and thirty one, after prayer to Almighty God for his guidance and blessing, it was UNANIMOUSLY RESOLVED:—

"First, that having read, and maturely considered the several documents and other evidences of the consecration of the Rev. George Montgomery West, Master of Arts, by the Bishop of Ohio, we are fully convinced of the *scriptural* validity of said consecration; and although the *temporality* of any regular diocese is not *necessarily* implied, yet we firmly believe, that the diocese of *Ohio* was intended by the Bishop as a consequence of the consecration.

"Second, that being sound churchmen, our congregation being large, respectable, and increasing, although the church has never been consecrated, and is not under any Episcopal authority, and being fully satisfied as to the qualifications of the Right Rev. George Montgomery West for the episcopal office, we now unanimously resolve to communicate these our *conscientious* views to him, accompanied by our respectful and urgent requests both on our own behalf, and that of *the congregation generally*, that he, will from henceforth preside over the church and congregation, and that should he consent, we will, to the utmost of our power, support the *dignity of his office.*

"(Signed), "H. T. TURNER, *Minister*,
"WILLIAM BECKETT,
"DANIEL POVAH, } *Church Wardens.*

"*To the Right Reverend*
"GEORGE MONTGOMERY WEST."

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† Published by J. Pannell, 24, Byrom Street, Liverpool. A well executed engraving of Mr. West is prefixed to the April Number.

Persons desirous to read the letter which was transmitted to Mr. West along with these resolutions, his reply, and the vote of thanks passed in consequence, will find the whole in the "Primitive Episcopal Church Magazine" for April, 1832. pp. 56—58.

On this footing, Mr. Turner and Mr. West acted as joint-pastors of All Saints during the remainder of the year 1831, and for a portion of 1832: Mr. West, in the meantime delivering lectures in favour of the Primitive Episcopal Church, in vindication of his own dignity as a bishop, and with a view to the introduction of certain alterations into the Book of Common Prayer. His popularity was then at its height. Among the working classes, it may be described as having been almost unbounded. He could boast also, of an augmentation of adherents of a superior grade. During the currency of the period of which we are now speaking, a most respectable Jewish gentleman, who had been converted to Christianity, and who was officiating as minister of a Hebrew Church of Christian Israelites, assembling for public worship in Sir Thomas' Buildings, placed himself and his church under Mr. West's episcopal care and jurisdiction.

In January 1832, was printed, by Mr. Pannell, I believe, the altered form of Common Prayer, intended for the use of the "Primitive Episcopal Church."* This, as will be seen by looking back to what has been said respecting the Octagon, or St. Catherine's Church, was *the second improved liturgy* which had made its appearance in Liverpool.

Early in 1832, occurred the consecration of the church of All Saints, and the admission to deacons' and priests' orders, of several individuals, by Mr. West and another person claiming the rank and authority of a bishop, the following account of which I extract from the *Liverpool Mercury*, of February 24th:—"PRIMITIVE EPISCOPAL CHURCH.—On Wednesday se'nnight," (February 15th), "the Church of All Saints, Grosvenor Street, was consecrated by the Rev. T. R. Mathews, D.D., one of the bishops of the Primitive Episcopal Church. The Rev. George Montgomery West, who is also a bishop of this church, read the morning service, after which he robed himself in the full costume of his office, and, together with Bishop Mathews, read the consecration service at the altar. After an appropriate sermon from Colossians i, 19,

* The Book of Common Prayer, and Administration of the Sacraments, and other rites and ceremonies of the church, according to the use of the Primitive Episcopal Church. Revised in England, in the year of our Redemption, 1831, &c. &c.

Bishop Matthews ordained a number of individuals who were candidates for holy orders, and they were then admitted to the order of deacons. The Primitive Episcopalians reject the Thirty Nine Articles, and have compiled a code of doctrines in their stead. A prayer book for the use of the body is now in the press. The church of All Saints is the mother church in this country; but the Hebrew Congregation of Christian Israelites, accustomed to meet in Sir Thomas' Buildings, have joined the new connexion, and their place of worship was consecrated on Friday, the 17th instant, by Bishops Mathews and West."—What I have to say farther in regard to the subject of consecrations and ordinations may be thus summed up:—St. Clement's Church, (Salem Chapel), Russell Street, nearly opposite Warren Street, was consecrated by *Bishop* West, on Friday, the 30th of March; and, likewise, an edifice in Preston, on Friday, the 6th of April. On the former occasion, the Bishop admitted a gentleman to deacons' orders—making altogether seven who had received ordination as deacons or priests, at the hands of Dr. (?) Mathews and himself.

Harmony between Messrs. Turner and West does not appear to have been of long continuance after *the consecration* of All Saints. Mr. Turner, who was and has always approved himself to be a gentleman of the highest integrity and respectability of character, deemed himself compelled, on the 27th March,* to intimate to Mr. West, the discontinuance of their joint-ministerial connexion; informing him also that from that time, he should take the duties of All Saints exclusively on his own shoulders. Following up this step, Mr. Turner, instead of Mr. West, on the evening of the next day, Wednesday the 28th, made his appearance in the pulpit. For a description of the scene to which this gave rise, one of the most extraordinary perhaps ever witnessed in a place of worship, members of the society, who are curious to know particulars, must be referred to the other newspapers of the time,† if not satisfied with an extract from the columns of the *Liverpool Mercury*, of Friday, the 30th March, 1832, which I have given in the note below.‡

* 1832.

† See the *Liverpool Journal*, of March 31st, the *Albion*, of April 2nd, and the *Courier*, of April 4th. Discussions having arisen on the subject, enquirers may consult the "*Mercury*," of April 6th, 20th, and 27th, and the columns of the newspapers first referred to.

‡ After a good deal of preliminary matter, which it is unnecessary to quote, the editor thus proceeds:—"The Rev. Mr. Turner, as we are informed, after repeatedly remonstrating with his colleague, against the alterations proposed by him in the Book of Common Prayer, and also against the doctrines occasionally advanced by him in his sermons, in-

Mr. West's stay in Liverpool after his rupture with Mr. Turner extended to several months. Having been rallied round by the great majority of the congregation, and supported at first by six of the gentlemen on whom he had conferred orders, matters for a while appeared to go on prosperously. A piece of ground in Soho Street, nearly opposite to Queen Anne Street, on which was to be erected a church destined for Mr. West, was bargained for; and reports were industriously circulated that money to the amount of three thousand pounds had been instantly subscribed for the purchase of the land, and the completion of the building.* Every thing seeming to hold out the prospect of a successful issue to the undertaking, the foundation stone of the intended edifice was laid by Mr. West himself with episcopal pomp, and suitable religious rites on Easter Monday, April 23rd, 1832, in presence of a vast crowd of spectators, whom even a continued and drenching rain could not deter from remaining to witness the whole of the imposing ceremonial. Until their church could be finished, the Music Hall, Bold Street, in its present altered state,† was selected by the members of the society, to be their place of meeting for public worship. But, alas! the shew of prosperity was not of long duration. Subscriptions to the required amount, indeed to any available amount, were not forthcoming. And, as "the course of" party attachment, whether religious or political, like that "of true love," seldom or never, for any length of time, "runs smooth," unpleasant feelings, ending in disputes sprang up between Mr. West and his friends. Acrimo-

formed him at last that his services would in future be dispensed with; and that he would not be permitted to preach again. On Wednesday last, when the church was as usual crowded to overflowing in expectation of the Rev. Mr. West's customary lecture, the Rev. Mr. Turner took possession of the pulpit, and prevented his reverend colleague from occupying it. The scene which ensued, we are told, baffles all description, and approached very much in tumult and disorder, to what is said of the recent exhibitions at Mr. Irving's chapel in London, the head-quarters of the unknown tongues. The "tongues" of men and women were immediately put into requisition, and amidst the shouting of the one, and the crying and screaming of the other, the partisans of the ejected minister, who formed far the largest part of the congregation, proceeded to pack up their cushions, prayer books, bibles, &c., &c. and took their departure; some of them telling the clergyman in the pulpit, that he might preach to the walls if he pleased, for they would follow Mr. West wherever he went. The uproar was so great, that it could be distinctly heard at some distance from the church; and persons passing in the streets went in to see what could be the occasion of so unbecoming a tumult in a place of worship." In the No. of April 6th, an article in the *Mercury* mentions, that "the noise and confusion outside of the church did not finally subside until about eleven o'clock at night." By some of Mr. West's friends, the accuracy of the *Mercury's* account was called in question.

* It was given out that the church when completed, would accommodate above 2,600 hearers.

† When the paper was submitted to the Society, this was the case; but now the building no longer exists.

nious language was uttered from the pulpit. The breach continued widening. And in this case the *iræ amantium* did not issue in the *redintegratio amoris*. On the contrary, a final and irreconcilable quarrel was the result. The body was broken up, and Mr. West quitted the town.*

From Liverpool, Mr. West proceeded to Birmingham, where at first he met with a very gratifying reception. In that bee-hive of industry, however, he did not long continue. Having raised an action for defamation of character, in which he was successful, he again left Englaud, and set foot on the shores of America, in 1834.

Meanwhile, the site of the intended chapel in Soho Street was sold to the Baptists, who erected on it a small but neat edifice, of which Mr. Moses Fisher, an excellent man who had been for several years pastor of Byrom Street Chapel, which he left in 1824, and who had subsequently officiated to congregations in Oil and Cockspur Streets, became, about 1835, first minister. To him, after his death, in 1840, succeeded Mr. Lancaster.

I may here take occasion to mention, that in the printed document to which reference is made in a preceding note, the managers, so far from having "enriched themselves at the expense of their pastor's labours," endeavour to shew a deficit in the funds, and themselves to be losers, or at all events to be lying under obligations to the amount of £111 4s. 4½d.

As regards Mr. West's subsequent history, it may be remarked, that on his arrival in the United States, in 1834, he joined the Presbyterian Church there, and was for some years an exceedingly popular minister in connexion with that body, first, at Philadelphia, and afterwards in Long Island, New York. Certain proceedings before the Presbytery of Brooklyn, having issued in the severance of his union with the Presbyterians, about the year 1843, he, some time afterwards, made his appearance again in Liverpool, as the Rev. George Montgomery West, D.D., and for several Sundays preached in the Portico, Newington Bridge.† This happened about 1844 or 1845. Having failed in obtaining the support of old friends, he went to Bristol, where, for a while, his talents attracted notice, and his

* From a printed document now lying before me, being an account of the receipts and expenditure at the Music Hall, during the period of the society's assembling there, I perceive that the connexion between Mr. West and it terminated in February, 1833. The amount received appears to have been exceedingly trifling, when we take into consideration the number and apparent enthusiasm of Mr. West's followers.

† The Orangemen of Liverpool were invited by placards bearing his name, to countenance his preaching, and enrol themselves under his banner.

popularity was considerable. About 1847, having been appointed by a majority of the Trustees, minister of St. Paul's Episcopal Chapel, Carrubbers' Close, Edinburgh, he preached in it for several months with great acceptance, he and his friends holding it, during that time, in spite of the refusal of Bishop Terrott, formally to recognise and admit him as incumbent. On quitting Edinburgh, Mr. West went to America, where, I believe, he now is.

With Mr. West's superior abilities, and effective pulpit oratory, what might he not have been and done? A very graphic account of his personal appearance, and public ministrations, after the close of his pastorship at All Saints', will be found in the "Comet,"—a short-lived but clever hebdomedal, conducted by M. J. Falvey,—of the 4th August, 1832.

Turning from the eccentric and somewhat painful career of this extraordinary man, we may notice, that his expulsion from All Saints' in March, 1832, was at no distant period followed by the abandonment of his charge, on the part of his amiable and excellent colleague. Left with but a small minority of the congregation, Mr. Turner found it impossible to get on. For a while, he retired into private life. Shortly after his leaving All Saints', it was regularly licensed as a place of worship, in connexion with the Established Church, by the then Bishop of Chester. Under his authority, it was re-opened, November 27th, 1833.

Two clergymen of the Establishment, subsequently to this, officiated in the building in succession, namely, the Rev. John Lyons, from the end of 1833 till about 1838; and the Rev. Andrew M'Conkey, M.A., from that period, until 1846 or 1847.

Circumstances having rendered the sale of the Church necessary, it came into the possession of the Roman Catholics, five or six years ago. By them it has been named St. Joseph's. The burial-ground, a large portion of which belongs to Protestants, is still of course open to interments by them, on giving a specified notice.

In lieu of the Church thus abandoned by the Protestant communion, a new All Saints', connected with the Establishment, has been erected in Great Nelson Street, towards the north end of the town, of which the Rev. Henry Marlen is incumbent.

10.—*St. Stephen's.*

Walking along Byrom Street, from Scotland Road, just before reaching

the junction of the former street with Shaw's Brow, Whitechapel, and Dale Street, we observe on our left hand, an old-fashioned, quaint, and small, but rather neat-looking ecclesiastical structure, with a belfry. This is the Church of St. Stephen's.*

Originally erected by the Baptists, and opened for public worship by that respectable sect of Christians, in 1722,† this was long the sole Baptist meeting-house in Liverpool. Hill-Cliffe Chapel, near Warrington, was the place where the Baptists first assembled for devotional purposes in this part of the country. Their first public meetings, in connexion with this town, were held at Low Hill, Everton, in 1700.‡ For the space of 14 years, they licensed and worshipped in a house situated near the present Necropolis. Afterwards a small chapel was built by them, close to the burial ground still existing in Everton Road.§ Mr. Peter Davenport seems to have become their first regular pastor in 1714.‖ From the period of the removal of the congregation to Byrom Street,¶ until 1792, what is now St. Stephen's Church continued to be the property of the Baptist body.** In 1773, they somewhat enlarged the building,†† and in 1789‡‡ they abandoned it, on occasion of their taking possession of the larger and more commodious structure, then just erected a little further to the north, at the bottom of Gerard Street. The deserted chapel was disposed of to the Church of England in 1792. It was, on its being acquired by the Establishment, that it came to be known by the appellation of St. Stephen's. It has been consecrated.

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* An engraving of the Church may be seen in Herdman's "Pictorial Relics."

† "Annals," Lacey's "Pictorial Liverpool," 1844, p. 262, &c., &c. By Mr. Taylor, in the MS. volume belonging to the Renshaw Street Chapel Library, so often already referred to, Byrom Street Chapel is said to have been opened in 1729. See MS. page 1, note.

‡ At the house of Dr. Daniel Fabius.

§ This burial-ground serves to indicate the sites of Dr. Fabius' property, and of the Chapel mentioned in the text.

‖ For many of the preceding facts I have been indebted partly to the note, p. 1, of Mr. Taylor's MS. volume, partly to "Lacey" (that is, Underhill,) and partly to Mr. Robert Hall, now of New York.

¶ 1722 as generally stated.

** The Ministers who succeeded Mr. Davenport were Mr. John Sedgefield, 1718, or 1719; Mr. John Johnson; Mr. John Oulton, from Leominster, 1748; Mr. Samuel Hall, 1765; and Mr. Samuel Medley, 1772. Mr. Taylor's MS. volume represents Mr. John Turner to have been Mr. Davenport's successor.

†† See page 94 of the Memoir of Mr. Samuel Medley, written by his Son, and prefixed to his two Sermons. 1800.

‡‡ So says Mr. Medley, in the Memoir just referred to, page 91. So also says Mr. Taylor in his MS. volume, note, p. 1. Other authorities specify 1787.

I should not consider myself justified in passing over, without some slight notice, two men, of more than ordinary talents and eminence, whose public services the Baptists enjoyed, during their occupation of the edifice of which we are now treating. Besides the local notoriety which both of them acquired, they were both well known, and highly esteemed, by their contemporaries in the Metropolis, and in many other parts of England.

The first of these was Mr. John Johnson. This gentleman was Pastor of the Congregation assembling in Byrom Street Chapel for about twenty years, closing his ministry there in 1747 or 1748. He left in consequence of certain peculiarities of doctrine which he had adopted, and was zealously promulgating,—deemed by some to be Sabellian, and certainly inconsistent with systematic Calvinism—having rendered him obnoxious to a large and influential portion of the church over which he presided. He and his adherents, by whom he was much beloved, and who continued tenderly attached to him to the last, removed to the chapel at the bottom of Stanley Street, and corner of Matthew Street,—still standing, but now or lately used as an old furniture warehouse—where he preached till the period of his death, which took place at the advanced age of about 90, in 1791.* Mr. Johnson was a vigorous and originally-minded man. One of his great characteristics was singular acuteness of intellect. A staunch supporter of the Royal House of Brunswick, and Revolution principles, was he—evinced, among other ways, by his having enrolled himself as a volunteer in the Liverpool Regiment, raised for the defence of the town, during the rebellion of 1745. He was founder of the sect commonly denominated Johnsonian Baptists, who, besides the society here, had affiliated congregations at Wisbeach in Cambridgeshire, and elsewhere. A very good abstract of the views entertained by Mr. Johnson and his followers is given in Hurd's History of various religious denominations. See, also, the *Bibliotheca Britannica*. Mr. Johnson was a rather voluminous writer. Many years ago, I remember perusing two octavo volumes of his discourses—one or two volumes of his, containing minute and laboured explanations of his peculiar sentiments—and a volume or two of his printed correspondence.

The other Baptist minister of Byrom Street Chapel, (St. Stephen's,) to whom I have alluded, is the well-known, and once eminently and deservedly popular Samuel Medley. No small degree of information concerning this

* His friends left the Matthew Street Chapel, to take possession of a place of worship erected by them in Comus Street, about 1803.

gentleman, I have gleaned from parties who were alive when I came to Liverpool, (1823,) and who had been his stated or occasional hearers; and for more minute and authentic details, I have had recourse to the Memoir of him, which, after his death, was published by his son.* All that I have heard and read tends to establish Mr. Medley's great fame and success as a preacher.† Mr. Medley, junior, after giving some interesting particulars concerning his great-grandfather,‡ and grandfather,§ informs us that his father, our present subject, was born at Cheshunt, Herts, June 23rd, 1738. Passing over the earlier portions of Mr. Medley's life, with the remark, that at one time he held the rank of a midshipman, and a commission as master's mate in the Royal Navy, and was present, on board of the Intrepid, 74 guns, at the hard fought action off Cape Lagos, 18th August, 1759, where he was severely wounded, we find him, after having quitted the service, to have taught a school for some time in London. At last, under the influence, and by means of the persuasions of the justly celebrated Dr. Giffard of the British Museum, he was induced to enter on the work of the ministry, among the Baptists, in August, 1766. He commenced his stated labours at Watford, Herts, and was there ordained, July 13th, 1768. To take the pastoral charge of the Byrom Street church and congregation, Liverpool, he was invited by a letter, bearing date, November 11th, 1771. Having preached to the people, with great approbation, in the December and January following, his formal admission as pastor of the Church took place on the 15th day of April, 1772. His subsequent career in Liverpool was one certainly of almost unbounded popularity, but it was one likewise of great and increasing labour. In every possible way, he laid himself out to go good. Sailors and their interests, temporal and spiritual, were very particularly the objects of his regard. The seamen belonging to the port he frequently addressed from the pulpit, and he was incessantly engaged in conversing with them privately. It is to him, I think, that Mr. Wakefield refers in his "Memoirs," vol. i,

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* "Memoirs of the late Rev. Samuel Medley, compiled by his son: to which are annexed two Sermons. London: Johnson; 1800." A likeness of Mr. Medley is prefixed.

† Confirmed, were additional evidence required, by Mr. Taylor's remarks, in the note in his MS. volume, page 1, so often already referred to.

‡ One of the suite,—private secretary, I believe,—of the Earl of Kinnoull, ambassador to the Ottoman Porte, at Constantinople, from 1720 till 1736.

§ This gentleman was master of eight or nine different languages, several of which he spoke fluently. He was the intimate friend of the celebrated James Hervey, author of "Meditations among the Tombs," &c., who seems frequently to have consulted him on literary and theological topics.

pp. 208, 209, Edn. 1804, where he speaks of him, as was but too much the custom with that able, learned, and honest, but deeply prejudiced man, in terms of extreme and unjustifiable severity. Notwithstanding every drawback, Mr. Medley stood deservedly high, not only on intellectual, but on moral and religious grounds, in public estimation. His character was unblemished. Death put an end to his career of usefulness and popularity, July 17th, 1799, soon after his having completed the 61st year of his age.

Since the time that St. Stephen's came into the hands of the Church of England, 1792, the services of a number of talented clergymen have been enjoyed by its congregation. Among these, I find recorded the names of the Rev. George Henry Piercy, 1796—1805*; the Rev. Joshua King, now Rector of Woodchurch, Cheshire, a gentleman of talents, as well as of considerable notoriety in this district of the country, 1807; Rev. William, afterwards Dr. Pulford, 1810—1813; Rev. John Richard Tetlow, M.A., 1816; Rev. Alfred Hadfield, M.A., 1818—1821; Rev. Joseph Hilton, M.A., 1823—1830; Rev. Jacob Picton, M.A., 1833—1839, and the Rev. Thomas S. Ackland, B.A., the present incumbent. It will no doubt be gratifying to my colleagues, and the auditory, to be informed, if they do not already know the fact, that in this church and district, our able, accomplished, indefatigable, and respected Secretary, the Rev. Dr. Hume, has for three years been labouring as Mr. Ackland's substitute, with characteristic zeal and success. The tracts which he has published in relation to the statistics of a neighbouring district of which he is incumbent, and also of St. Stephen's, have attracted much notice and will remain as monuments of his industry, accuracy, discrimination, enlightened judgment, and ardent and benevolent desire to promote the welfare of our large and flourishing, but singularly heterogeneous mercantile community.

St. Stephen's is of but limited dimensions, being capable of accommodating not more than 550 hearers.

11.—*St. John the Evangelist.*

This edifice, which stands close to the Medical Institution in Hope

* "One of the best preachers in these old times was the incumbent of St. Stephen's, Byrom Street, the Rev. G. H. Piercy, a fine fellow, in every way. He is still alive at his living of Chaddesley, in Worcestershire, to which he was presented through the influence of old Queen Charlotte. * * * Mr. Piercy must have reached the age of the patriarchs, at least."—*Liverpool a few years since*, p. 110. See also page 115. By the way, an amusing fact or two with respect to the Rev. R. K. Milner, of St. Catherine's, already spoken of, will be found recorded, page 110, of the lively work which we have just quoted.

Street, although first opened for public worship not further back than 1836, and consequently ranking among our more modern ecclesiastical structures, is not now in the possession of those by whom it was erected.

It is indebted for its existence to a body denominating itself "the Christian Society," between which and the Primitive Methodists there are, as regards doctrine and practice, many remarkable points of agreement. At the head of it originally was the Rev. Robert Aitken, a gentleman who, if I am not mistaken, had been admitted to Holy Orders in the Established Church, by one of the Bishops of Sodor and Man. Having, under the influence of conscientious motives, temporarily quitted the pale of the Establishment, to which he afterwards returned, the formation of the "Christian Society," and the erection of St. John the Evangelist, bear testimony to the zeal with which he followed out his new-born convictions, and the great popularity which he speedily attained.

Mr. Aitken in his efforts to propagate the doctrines, and advance the interests of his new sect, was ably seconded by the Rev. John Bowes, who soon after the opening of the edifice in question, took the pastoral care of the congregation assembling in it, and has more recently been distinguished by his discussions with the Mormonites. This gentleman who is pretty extensively known, is now regularly engaged as a preacher in Manchester.

Occasion having been found for Mr. Bowes' services and active exertions elsewhere, in promoting the objects of the "Christian Society," Mr. Aitken took upon himself, about the year 1838, statedly to conduct public worship, within the walls of the chapel in Hope Street.

During the period of Mr. Aitken's ministrations there, it was my lot, one week-day evening, to hear him preach. His sermon, and its effects upon his auditory, I shall never forget. The place was crowded almost to suffocation. Having selected as the subject of his discourse, Christ's healing of Jairus' daughter, he spoke upon it for the space of 45 or 50 minutes. His language was pointed and energetic. His manner, impassioned. Occasionally, indeed, bordering on the wildest enthusiasm. Upon his hearers, his discourse, which was carefully composed, but declamatory, told with prodigious effect. From about ten minutes to a quarter of an hour before reaching his conclusion,* many of the audience, apparently unable to control themselves, were giving loud vent to their feelings. "Amen," "Lord hear

* Might I not say climax?

him," "Come Lord Jesus," "He is coming," and similar expressions, I heard resounding on every side of me. The gestures of many persons, in my immediate vicinity, betrayed their intense agitation and excitement. When the preacher had ended, an invitation to go down stairs was given to such as felt inclined to do so.* I did not comply. A friend who went down, described to me the scene as extraordinary, but inexpressibly painful. In the apartment below, he saw persons to the amount of fifty or thereabouts, in different postures and attitudes: some grovelling on their bellies, some kneeling, and some standing; some anxious, some depressed, and some joyful; but all more or less excited, and the majority uttering a great variety of exclamations. Some were labouring under convictions of sin, and some had just obtained deliverance. Individuals were constantly flitting about, ready to aid the parties described in their religious trials and exercises. But enough of this. Profanely in this town, and at the time, those who under the influence of excitement descended into the apartment in question, were said "to go down into the cellar to seek for Jesus." Such scenes, indeed scenes still more extraordinary and revolting are said to be common at "Camp," and "protracted meetings" in the United States of America. To my friend they were new. And the recital of them, so far from provoking feelings of ridicule, painfully affected me. As connected with this locality, I have thought them worth placing upon record.

Like many other instances of overwrought enthusiasm, the system of which I have been speaking tended to wear itself out. In 1841, Hope Street Chapel passed into the hands of the Establishment. On the 21st of March in that year, after having undergone certain necessary alterations, and assumed the name of St. John the Evangelist, it was temporarily licensed for Divine worship in connexion with the Church of England.

The Rev. Richard Cargill, B.A., was, subsequently to this new state of things, its first minister. To him, in 1843, succeeded the late Rev. Thomas MacGill, M.A., nephew of a highly respectable gentleman long resident in this town, and related to the late excellent and devoted Stevenson MacGill, D.D., Professor of Divinity in the University of Glasgow. Mr. MacGill was, if I am not mistaken, son of a gentleman who wrote a very interesting volume of travels on the Shores of the Mediterranean and in the Levant, and who, at a later period of his life, held H.B.M. Commission as

* To those who "were solicitous about the salvation of their souls."

Consul at Malta.* The deceased gentleman, of whom we are speaking, was one of the curates of St. Nicholas' here, during his connexion with this church, and, therefore, only acted personally as Evening Lecturer. The duties of officiating minister were performed, during part of the period in question, by the Rev. J. H. Brown, M.A., and during the remainder of it, by the Rev. Dr. Hume, both at the time holding situations in the Collegiate Institution. The vacancy created by Mr. MacGill's removal to the curacy of Clapham, in the spring of 1846, was filled up by the appointment of the Rev. Henry H. Higgins, M.A., as sole minister.

St. John the Evangelist's, although capacious and comfortable as to the interior, has no particular claims on attention when looked at from the outside. It may be regarded as neat, but certainly it has not an elegant appearance. We may observe, that its surplus funds, if any, are devoted to the support of the Female Orphan Asylum.

With this one, I close my *detailed* notices of the Liverpool Established Churches which have been the subjects of alterations.

As it may be alleged, however, that changes have not been confined to the eleven which I have enumerated, I have thought fit briefly to advert to certain alterations which have been undergone by three others.

1.—*St. Nicholas.*

What this Church was externally eighty or ninety years ago, may be seen by referring to one of the plates in Enfield's History of Liverpool, engraven, as were the others, by Mr. George Perry,† to whom also we are indebted for the Map of the town, which is prefixed to the History.

Smithers, in his History, upon what authority I know not, carries back the foundation of this Church to a very remote period. For full and authentic particulars concerning it, the curious reader must be referred to Moss.‡ Gore's "Annals," Smithers' History, and all our Guide Books, make us acquainted with the facts of the body of the Church having been

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* He is said to have been one of the descendants of the celebrated John Knox.

† For an account of this gentleman, see Smithers' History of Liverpool; and for an account of the share which he had in collecting materials for, and drawing up the history which passes by the name of Enfield's, see the Preface to that work. One of Mr. Perry's sons, having the same name as his father, published a work on Conchology, and was besides a distinguished architect.

‡ Lacey's "Pictorial History," pages 252—255, may likewise, in reference to St. Nicholas, be consulted with advantage. Nor must Baines be overlooked.

re-built in 1774, and of the lamentable loss of life which attended the falling of the spire on the forenoon of Sunday, 11th February, 1810. The real causes of this catastrophe appear to have been, the misjudged economy of the rate-payers of Liverpool, of a former generation, in erecting the spire on the base of the old and worn-out tower, between 1745 and 1750; and the vibration occasioned by continued ringing of the very heavy bells, which were hung in it. The details connected with the building of the spire, as given by Moss, are curious. "By the falling of the spire," says Lacey, "one of the few fine specimens of antiquity in this town was destroyed, being a font which bore a latin inscription." This font will be found described at length in Moss' History.

The present tower surmounted by a lantern was erected in 1815.

Recently the Church has undergone very considerable alterations, and we are justified in saying improvements, in the interior. Are we not indebted for these principally to the taste and knowledge of mediæval antiquities, for which Rector Campbell is distinguished ?*

A handsome Gothic Gateway leads out of the Church-yard into Chapel Street. Very unpleasant and protracted discussions, arising out of a refusal on the part of the Vestry to pay for it, were the result of its erection by one of the Churchwardens, about thirty years ago.

2.—*St. Thomas'*.

Erected in 1750. During a hurricane in 1757, 42 feet of the spire, which according to Lacey rose originally to the height of 420 feet,† were blown down; of which 24 feet were afterwards re-built. In 1780 a thunderbolt struck one of the stones near the top of the steeple, which falling had well nigh killed a person who was passing in the street. In process of time, the spire of St. Thomas' came to be regarded as dangerous. Applications having been made to the proper authorities, it was taken down in 1822. The tower, however, on which it rested, was left standing. Upon this, which was square, a low hexagonal structure was erected, surmounted by a small dome and cross. Lacey considers this dome to have been "clumsy," and

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* Was he not aided in this by Mr. Harmood Banner, lately one of our Churchwardens ?

† A mistake evidently for 240, the original height of the tower and spire, as given in other histories. I must except, indeed, that of Moss, who, p. 140, makes the height of both, from the first, to have been only 216 feet.

the whole, "not to have had a very handsome or graceful appearance." pp. 258, 259. I perfectly concur with him. After the change alluded to, the tower of St. Thomas' had the look of a gigantic pepper-box. This state of things did not long continue. Subsequently to the publication of the "Pictorial Liverpool," about seven or eight years since, the tower of St. Thomas' was razed to the ground, and the present erection, of which it is impossible to speak very complimentarily, was substituted for it. At the same time, the beautiful urns which stood on the top of the side and back walls, and which constituted not the least of the embellishments of this Church, were removed, and on these walls was constructed the parapet which now runs nearly round the building. Disfigured to the eye, as almost all *rifacciamentos* are, the edifice, viewed as a whole, now decidedly is.

What St. Thomas' was before 1769 or 1770, is represented in one of the engravings in "Enfield's History," executed by Perry; and a very good idea of the effect produced by its tall and magnificent spire, may be acquired by examining the view of the Old Dock and Custom-House, which is given in Herdman's "Pictorial Relics."

I cannot part with St. Thomas' without expressing my conviction, that, when entire, it must have been one of the handsomest ecclesiastical buildings in Liverpool. Well might Moss observe, p. 140, "there is an easy, elegant simplicity in the whole external of this Church, from whatever point of view it is seen" Thus he wrote in 1795. Even as I saw it for the first time in 1823, when deprived of its spire, and exhibiting marks of incipient decay, it appeared to me singularly beautiful. Moss will be found to give a very good description of it, pages 140, 141. Mr. Roughsedge was chaplain of St. Thomas' when removed to St. George's, (from which he was soon afterwards elevated to the rectory,) in 1795.

3.—*St. Luke's*

is unquestionably not only the finest modern Gothic structure in Liverpool, but one of the finest in the Kingdom.* From the laying of its foundation stone, April 9, 1811, until it was consecrated and opened, January 12, 1831, a period of nearly twenty years elapsed.† The stones of which it is

* Its architecture is, I admit, in some respects open to criticism.

† Strikingly enough, while the foundation stone of this Church, was laid by James Drinkwater, Esq., Mayor, the Church itself was opened, during the Mayoralty of his Son, Sir George Drinkwater, Knight.

built are of a superior quality, and the workmanship is excellent. Well might the plan and execution of St. Luke's be of no ordinary kind, when we consider that its cost is understood to have exceeded £44,000. See Lacey's "Pictorial Liverpool," 1844, p. 263, where a very interesting description of the building may be met with.

Such of my auditors as have been in the habit of reading "Blackwood's Magazine" for any length of time, may happen to recollect, that in a paper which appeared in that ably conducted periodical, about 20 years' ago, it was suggested, that, in the event of the diocese of Chester being divided, and a new bishopric being called into existence, St. Luke's should be selected as the Cathedral Church.

What has occasioned my notice of St. Luke's here, is that I may have an opportunity of mentioning an alteration which has taken place in the wall by which its churchyard is surrounded. At present it is a low parapet wall, surmounted by a railing, both of elegant appearance, and rising as it were by a succession of steps, in accommodation to the rise of the ground. But in 1823, when little more than the foundation stone of the Church had been laid, a handsome Gothic wall, about six feet in height, which is said to have cost several thousand pounds, environed the premises. This wall stood for some years after the period stated—indeed, if I remember right, until the Church itself was approaching to completion. It was then taken down, to be replaced by that which now meets the eye of the passenger.

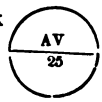
One fact may here be thrown in as if by the way. It is this. With a view to the widening of St. John's Lane, the burial ground of St. John's Church was considerably curtailed of its dimensions about twenty years ago. This fact has suggested to me a question:—Have not proposals been made, in certain quarters, for a similar curtailment of that portion of the grave-yard of St. Paul's, which lies to the east of the church?

II.—Letters relating to Lancashire and Cheshire;—Temp. James I. Charles I., and Charles II.

By Thomas-Dorning Hibbert, of the Middle Temple, Esquire.

The following letters are only specimens of a number which I discovered among a mass of old papers in a garret in Rivington Hall, while I was spending a few days with my kinsman, Robert Andrews, esquire. They are now in my possession, and if the Society think the present letters of sufficient interest, I may be induced to lay before them others of equal interest. I shall commence with the letter of Richard Speakman to his master, Richard Hilton, or as it was often written, Hulton, so that I may be able to give the *genealogy* of the MSS. Richard Hilton was a wealthy yeoman and fustian manufacturer, who resided at West Leigh in this County; his only daughter and heiress "Mistress Abigaill," became the wife of Thomas Crook of Abram, alias Aburgham, near Wigan, gentleman, by whom she had issue, with several daughters, an only surviving son, Richard Crook of that place and Macclesfield, esquire. He married Martha, one of the daughters of John Hollinshead of Macclesfield, gentleman, by Joan his wife, daughter of Thomas Mottershead, whose family were connected with the Batemans, both being old Macclesfield families; he died without issue, leaving his sisters his co-heiresses. One of them, Abigail, married Mr. John Andrews of Rivington and Bolton, attorney at law, the brother of the present Robert Andrews' great grandfather. Thus the papers of Hollinshead Mottershead and Bateman, became mixed with the Hilton and Crook papers. On the extinction of the issue of John and Abigail Andrews, they came into the possession of the father of the present Esquire of Rivington. Margaret, the wife of John Percival of Liverpool and Allerton, merchant, was another sister and co-heiress of Richard Crook. Mr. Thomas Heywood in his account of the Percivals, in vol. I. of the Society's Proceedings and Papers, page 65, has fallen into the same error as Gregson, calling her Margaret *Cook*. Another daughter and co-heir married Thomas Yate of Whitchurch, Salop, from whom descends John-Yate Lee, esquire, of the Bankruptcy Court in Liverpool. More accurate genealogical information of the Crooks, I must defer to another occasion. Mr. Thomas Valentine whose name occurs, was also in the Bolton trade, and was probably one of the Valentines of Bentcliffe in the Parish of Eccles, in the County of

Lancaster. Mr. Gillibrand was the Reverend Jonathan Gillibrand, who had been appointed on the 31st of the previous July, vicar of West Leigh, in place of the Rev. Bradley Hayhurst, one of the ejected ministers mentioned. Mr. Gillibrand died in 1685. Calamy says Mr. Hayhurst afterwards conformed.

Post mark 

ffor Mr Richard Hilton
att Blossome Inn
in Lawrance Lane
in London

22 Aug (16)62

Most affectionate M^{r}

After my servise to you premissed not ffforgettinge my homage to my best dame and to mris Abigaill I rec^{d} your letter of ye 19 Instant am sory that you have such ill markets for ffustiens as ffor y^{e} waginer Heapy I have paid him 19^{s} but noe more soe that you may pay his porter Forth if you please. I have waighed one packe (of) yorne and it weigheth 230^{li} pond sixscore pond to hundrath I pray you order m^{r} Thomas Valentine to pay A bill of 20$^{£}$ & I shall charge y^{e} bill upon him ffor I presume you will bee comne out of y^{e} city before y^{e} bill come up ffor I have had five pounds of mris Cason of Warrington & am to have some more & to give her husband a bill att his returne out of y^{e} north which wilbee y^{e} next weeke I suposse or else to repay her 5^{li} pond againe & soe must take up some 20^{li} I am sore necessitated for I have borrowed 4^{li} Allready. Mr Gillibrand is still Amongst us instead of A minister & like to be for ye p'sent ffor ye bussines is not yet ended tho ye bishope hath had a hearringe of itt & promisseth faire to ye parish but y^{t} is All att prsent. our non conformist ministers preach thir last or farewell sermons this weeke.

I rest your servant

Rich. Spakeman.

I shall tell Rich Ranicars as you Writt & shall gett ye wheat to Weys-leigh so sonne as dry but we have continual wett weather ye lord ceasse itt for itt treatens sore.

[P.S. on the margin.]

The bird & little dove doe very well—not ells but desyre you^{re} good health & saf Arivall att home in Lancasherre

The next document is a short note from Peter Egerton of the Shaw Hall, in the parish of Flixton, esquire, to the same worthy yeoman, and one Roger Bayley, (of whom nothing is known,) but not of so pleasant a nature. We are placed at once in the days when only force was known, and when

rents were as difficult to collect as they now are in the sister island. Colonel Egerton was at the time besieging Lathom House. "My cosen Holcroft," was probably Colonel Holcroft of Holcroft, who was also at that siege. Four days before the date of this note, namely, upon the 20th of March, cannon had been brought to play upon the walls of the house with some little success, and Lady Derby had refused to surrender, though her Lord who was then in Chester, had sent a letter through Sir Thomas Fairfax, desiring an honorable and free passage for the Countess and her children. Probably this determination of her Ladyship was the cause of Colonel Holcroft's journey to town.

Colonel Egerton served the office of Sheriff for Lancashire in 1641, was deputy Lieutenant in 1642, a Colonel under Faixfax, and a General in the Parliamentary Army. He took an active part in the sieges of Manchester and Bolton; and on the 1st of April, 1643, he was appointed one of the Committee of Sequestration. He was the grandson of Peter Egerton, (a younger son of Rafe Egerton of Ridley, County of Chester,) by Alice his wife, daughter and co-heiress of Leonard Asshaw, of the Shaw, esquire, who brought that estate into the Egerton family. The great Chancellor Egerton was half brother, on the wrong side, of Rafe Egerton, the latter being the son and heir of Sir Richard Egerton of Ridley, the former his reputed son by Alice Sparke.

ffor Richard Hulton &
Roger Bayley at Legh
these

I was intreated by my cosen Holcrofte before his goeinge to London, to call unto you for yor rent (wch at this time is) due unto him, and w^{ch}all he made me p'mis (that if yo^{u} payde it not to me upon the day) that I shoulde sende a troope of horse for the collectinge of it. Nowe I thought fitt to let yo^{u} understand, that if you bringe it to Warrington on thursday next, I shall be ready to receiue it, and to giue you a discharge for it, but if yo^{u} fayle that time, I must doe accordinge to my p.mis wch is not desired by me, but to remaine

yor louvinge frende
Peter Egerton.

Ormeskirke March 24th
1644

We now have a short note from the celebrated Sir William Brereton of Hanford, County of Chester, Baronet, who was commander of the Parliamentary Forces in Cheshire, with his own cousin, once removed, Lieutenant Colonel Robert Dukinfield. He was the son of William Brereton of Hanford,

esquire, by Margery, youngest daughter and co-heiress of Richard Holland of Denton; and Colonel Dukinfield was the son of Robert Dukinfield, of Dukinfield, esquire, by Frances his wife, daughter of George Preston of Holker in Cartmel, esquire. Robert, was the son and heir of Robert Dukinfield of Dukinfield, esquire, by Jane, the eldest of his five daughters and co-heiresses. Colonel Holland was also a cousin, the estate of Denton having fallen to him in consequence of the elder line having ended, as just mentioned, in co-heiresses. I give these particulars to shew how nearly allied in blood the principal movers on the side of the Parliament were to each other.

Mr. Mottershead as I have said was of an old Macclesfield family, who some time after the date of this note drew down the wrath of the Heralds' College, for having used the Arms of Mottram, (to which they were not entitled,) at the funeral of one Samuel Mottershead, in 1691, as appears by a very curious letter among the Harl MSS. addressed to one of the Randal Holmes, by his sister and co-heiress Joan Hollinshead, requesting him to help her out of the scrape. She shows a wholesome fear of the Earl Marshal's authority to fine for the usurpation of arms. I have among my papers a large number of letters addressed to the Mottershead family, from which I learn that they were largely engaged in the silk button trade. They also acted as bankers, which is proved by finding among their papers a receipt from president Bradshaw, dated 5th November, 1629, when he was a student of Gray's Inn, for money which his friends had paid into Mottershead's hands in Macclesfield, which sum they ordered their correspondent Mr. Kendall of Bread street, to pay to Bradshaw.

The forest alluded to is Macclesfield, of which Sir William was Forester.

For M^{r} —— Mottershed at
Macclesfield

Mr Mottershed

I haue sent these lynes to desire you to hasten the gatheringe in of the Midsomer rents due in and about the fforreste to be ready ag^{t} the middle of this Month. Haveinge Confidence of your Care herein and that you have already made some progresse, I shall not need to enlarge, but shall remaine

yor verie Loveing Friend

Julie 2 1649 Will Brereton

The next document is a letter from John Ashton, who appears to have been one of the Ashtons of Ashton, in the fee of Mackerfield, a respectable family, with doubtful pretentions to Coat Armour. Mr. Sorocold, to whom

it is addressed, was one of the Sorocolds of Barton, a family of lesser gentry who entered their pedigree at Dugdale's visitation in 1664–5, when the arms which they claimed were respited. The letter relates to the death of his brother John Sorocold, one of the gentlemen of the guards, being in Colonel Scrmipshire's squadron. Formerly the guards were composed entirely of young men of family: even now I am told that the first guards are always addressed as "gentlemen of the guards."

The Sorocold family were connected with the Hiltons. I have a number of letters from Sir Peter Legh of Lyme, to his "baliffe" James Sorocould of Haydock.

Mr. Bradshaw was one of the Bradshaws of Darcy Lever, an old Presbyterian family, who appear also in Dugdale's Visitation. I have several letters from him relating to the death of Mr. Sorocold, and from Mr. Mullinux, and one from Mr. Sorocold written a few days before his death. "The bills inclosed" I give at the foot of the letter, from the originals in my possession; they are curious as they shew the expense of keeping a horse at livery in 1662. Lord Gerrard was probably Lord Gerrard of Brandon, afterwards Earl of Macclesfield; there were at this time two baronies of Gerrard existing.

ffor Mr James Sorocold att
his howse att the Eye bridge
in Ashton neere Wigan
these
Leaue these att Ellen Ashton's
house in Ashton to be delived
as above with care
in
Lancashire

honrd Sir

I rec^{d} yor Le^{r} directed to Mr Chaddock & another from yor brother Laund^{rs} which I opened according to Mr Laund^{rs} direccon Mr Chaddock being gone for Yorkshire & soe for Lancashire. I requested Mr Wm Blundell to Answer them for me my occasions being that post soe urgent y^{t} I could not wth conveniency. S^{r} in order to yor request I haue beene wth Mr George Greene the onely man y^{t} was ingaged on yor brothers behalfe in ye quarrell & he informs me ye manner of it to be thus. On Sunday the 28th of Aprill last at night Mr Sorocold & Mr Greene going towards their Lodgings were iostled from ye wall by a company of butchers & a poulterer wch caused words on both sides insomuch y^{t} yor brother struck one of them & then all ye rest engaged & struck them sorely but nothing appeared outwardly on yor brother, they were much in drinke both

of them & it is to be doubted that cheefely a Surfett occasioned his favo' which he gott in Mr Greens company, but truly I thinke y^{t} neither the Surfett alone nor ye bruses alone would have occasioned his death but both meeting carryed him away; he neuer complained of his bruses in ye tyme of his sicknesse neither did ye docto^{r} know it till aboute 2 or 3 dayes before his death wch he discerned by his spitting of blood. on Munday after yor brothers death I desired Mr Molineux & Mr Bradshaw y^{t} yor brother might have beene vewed by ye Crowner,& ye poulterer apprehended, but they being doubtfull y^{t} you would not p.secute & ye tyme being short y^{t} we intended to bury him & he swelling soe much then occasioned their dislike of it. S^{r} I think it will not availe anything to p.secute now for ye body must be taken up againe & vewed & we shall be fined for burying him unvewed. S^{r} I desired Colonall Ashby to go along wth me to the Lord Gerard that we might make sale of his horse & to receive what pay was due to him att his death, he was very high att first & said ye horse was his being a mustered horse & for his pay y^{t} none was due to him he being dead, but afterwards I applying my selfe to Col Scrmipshire who hath the comand of y^{t} Squadron yor brother was in und^{r} Sr Tho Sands, he prevailed wth my Lord for both, ye horse I sold before Mr Molineux came downe but what was Due for his meat was paid before they would p^{t} with him I discharged these two bills here inclosed & have 3^{li} 12^{s} 6^{d} being ye remainder in my hands to be disposed on according to yor direccons I have beene above 20 tymes to receive his pay but am still delayed untill ye next muster, there is in one Robins hands a Taylo^{r} in Cursitor's Alley six yards of Cloth wch was intended for a sute and Cote for him (the Cloth is oweing for to Mr Cropp and I have promissed to see him paid) this Robins in the ye tyme of yor brothers sicknesse (contrary to his order) cut out the Cloth & soe it lyeth in his hands unfinished he is a very D^{l} & what to doe with him I know not he expecteth to be paid for all ye materialls he hath bought for the sute & Cote, I desire you to signifie yor pleasure what yo^{u} will haue done with it, As for Ned yor brothers man I admire with what confidence he can request anything from yo^{u} his m^{r} haueing given him soe much in his lifetyme for soe little service, in ye time of yor brothers sicknesse he made bold to take yor brothers horse & sword & ride him out & ye sword & belt he lost in a quarrell so y^{t} yor brother hath neither sword nor belt nor pistolls but a girdle & hangers to weare a sword in. I desire you not to signifie to Ned who acquainted yo^{u} wth this but to let him know you know of it S^{r} if Boydell was in Towne this weeke I must crave yor p.don for not sending downe ye things by him for I was out of Towne & came but this night to Towne. Wm Houghton hath p.missed me to prayse them & inventory them according to yor direccons if he come not till ye next weeke I intend then to send them. S^{r} if in any thing I can be serviceable to yo^{u} I will studdy to manifest my selfe to be

yor faithfull freind
to serve yo^{u}

June 22th 1661. Jo Ashton.

The following are the two bills alluded to, which were enclosed in the foregoing letter.

A Bill for Mr John Sorocold his horse for Oats and Hay from the 27th March untill 19th May 1661 at the Bare and Ragged Staffe in ye Strand.

	£	s	d
Imp^{s} for fifty two nights of hay ...	02	3	4
for fifty two nights of oats...	02	3	4
for a hundred and four pen. [nyworth] of beans	00	8	8
the sum)	04	15	4

ffor 7 nights hay	00	05	010
ffor 7 peckes of oats	00	05	010
ffor beanes	00	01	08
ffor braun	00	00	04
ffor grinding	00	00	06
	0	14	2

given to Willm Caton..... 1			
the Und^{r} Ostler for a bridle. 06	0	1	6
allowed Mr Taylor		10	0

The farriers bill from the 5th April to the 8th May 1561.

April 5th	for a drinke for one gray horse	2	0
5	for a spunge at head for the gray horse	1	0
	for one wash for the gray horse	1	0
	for balls at severall times	5	0
13	for 2 shoues 2 remoues of the gray horse	1	4
8	for nailing the gray horse		2
	for 4 shoues of the gray gilding	2	0
	for drissing the gray gilding of a Treatt.....	2	0
	for drissing the gray gilding of a cannayll nayl	2	0
	sum is	16	6

The two next and last letters of this series are from the Rev. William Bateman, who appears to have been educated at Oxford. The first letter is written from Ludgars-hall, a parish which lies in the Counties of Oxford and Bucks. The one next in order is written to his father on the death of his mother, and contains strong confimation of Mr. Macaulay's controverted statement, that the country Clergy occupied a very humble position in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. No Clergyman could now be found who would think of sending his sister to an Inn to learn household matters. Mr.

Brownswo'rd was master of the Macclesfield Grammar School; a man of note in his day. See Ormerod's Cheshire.

To his Louinge father
Ihon Batemanne alderman
at Maxfelde theise in hast.

Grace mercie and peace from God the father & from our Lorde Jesus Christ be multiplied.

Welbeloved father I most humblie commende me unto you my brother Thomas my sister Ann my Old Master Mr. Brownsw'd with all oth^{r} my kinsfolkes & friendes having conceived soe great griefe by the death of my mother and yeat daylie increaseth that I am out of doubt I cannot writ unto you at this time as I would but thear is noe remedie but God must neades be served As I am informed shea made a quiet end I trust shea died the servant of God. of this thus much My sister Katren is placed in a verie good house in Bissiter [Bicester] wher shea shall learne to doe all manner of thinges that belonge to a good huswyfe it is a vitailinge house greatlie occupied shea shall not learne onelie to dresse meate and drinke excellent well, but allso bruinge bakinge winnowinge, with all other thinges theirunto appertaininge for they are verie rich folkes and verie sharpe and quicke both of them The cause why my Ant received her not as shea answered us was because all this winter shea intendeth to have but one servant woman & shea thought my sister was not able to doe all her worke because shea imagined her to be verie raw in theire countrey worke wch thinge trewlie shea that hath her now did thinke and theirefore her wage is the slenderer but xvjs [16s.] wch in this place is counted nothinge in effecte for such a strong woman as shea is, but I bringinge her to Bissiter uppon Wednesday beinng Michaelmas even told her dame the wage was verie small and said I trusted shea would mend it if shea proved a good girle as I had good hope shea would, quoth I it will scarce bye her hose & shooes nay saith shea I will warrant her have so much given her before the yeare be expyred and by Gods helpe that wch wants I my selfe will fill upp as much as I am able. But certainelie myne Uncle & Ant both thought verie great discurtestie in you that you sent them not a letter nor that my brother Thomas beinge soe neare would not come unto them & I mad excuses & said he coulde not in no wyse because of his busines & meetinge the carrier in dew tyme yeas saith mine Uncle he might have set forth a day or two sooner and bestowed some time with his Ant wch he never saw, but whether theise weare the causes or whether when my mother was dead they did not regard us soe much as they did before I know not but most certaine it was at that time they would not receive her doe I what I coulde but myne Ant saide when shea knew the fashions of the countrey then shea would take her You weare verie quicke in sendinge of her upp unlesse my letter had signified otherwaies unto you then I am sure it did for I desired you to send me worde whether shea woulde come or not for as shea hath shewed me since her cominge if my mother had lived shea

would not have come. I am crediblie informed that theare are some woulde verie faine have you to marie againe but if you doe I beseeche you for God's cause have a respecte unto your children & unlesse it weare to your great losse I would request you to stay untill sommer next comminge till you & I talke together face to face. Surelie unlesse you keep house yourselfe I would verie gladlie wish you to dwell with my brother who tould me you should be verie well used & in my iudgment that weare the most credit for us all if it weare possible to be soe. Thus I end committinge you unto the Lorde who ever keepe you & request you earnestlie not to forget the p.misses. Ludgarsall the xxixth of September.

yor Lovinge sonne in what he is able
to pleasure you William Batemanne.

The last of this series is addressed to his brother Thomas Bateman, who was in trade in Macclesfield, probably a mercer. It is dated Stretton Awdley, a village in Oxfordshire, about fourteen miles from the University, a place well known to sportsmen of the present day. The writer had to go to Oxford to keep his Act and at the same time to post his letter, there being no nearer post town. The directions to his brother to "come a clean man unto him," may seem strange to modern ears, when every good private house has its bath; but in King James' time ablutions were little practised, hence skin diseases of a most virulent class arose. Beds were articles of great value, almost every gentleman's will contained a bequest of his best bed, which like the bed of Ware, generally held more than one individual.

To his Lovinge brother
Thomas Bateman at
Maxfielde in Cheshire
theise in all hast

Loving brother after my most harty commendacones unto you & my sister Ann your wyfe prayinge God to blesse us all both now & ev^{r} &c. If it be not much discommodious unto you I would have you to be wth me a fortnight before Michaelmas next bringing wth you my bill; you havinge received a good summe of monie of me allreadie, and now being to receive a good somme againe: I trust undoubtedlie that you are well able so to order the matter that you will come unto me in a handsome and comelie suite of apparrell because I would have you to rest you well after yor iorney and so sometimes shall have occasion to goe abroade: you may take that course that you may come upp wth the carriers that carrie linnen cloath for companie is comfortable and will make the way to seeme shorter unto you *Come a cleane man unto me* that I may boldlie entertain you to bee my bedfellow w^{h}out anie dread: I hope you have not forgot the same matter in my last wrytinge. I am constranid to goe to the Act to Oxford to convey this letter unto you. I pray you forget not my most hearty commendaconnes unto my cosen John Blagg & his wyfe & the rest of my cosins and good freinds giving him

thanks in my name for all his kindnesses towards mee. Thus wth my commendaconns I commit you to the p.tection of Thalmightie desyring God that you may grow & increase in spirituall & temporall blessings. Stretton Awdl: 1607. Julie xiijth

yor Loving brother

William Bateman.

[The seal a wafer with WB thereon.]

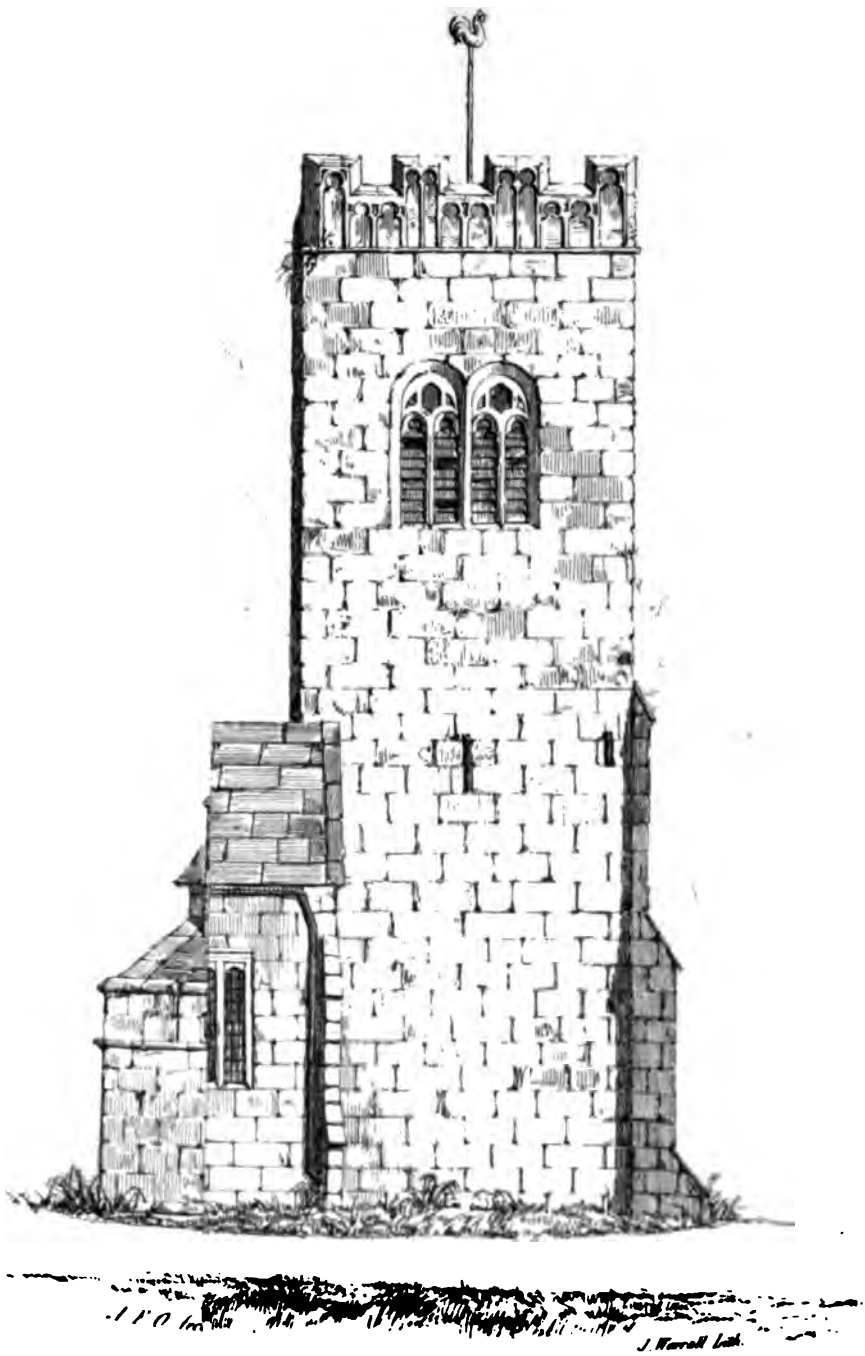
III.—Notes on the Church of West Kirby, Cheshire.

By James Middleton, Esq.

The body of the present Church of West Kirby offers the curious anomaly of the ridge plate joining the north-eastern angle of the tower, the eastern face of which bears the trace of the gable of the nave having been at some former period attached centrically as usual. The chancel is lighted by two windows of unequal size and dissimilar style, that on the south resembling the first perpendicular, that on the north the Tudor. Both are of four lights, and the mullions of fine dressed free stone, with weather mouldings of the same description. The chancel is correctly figured in the annexed plate. The north side of the nave is pierced at irregular intervals with four flat-headed windows, three of three lights, and one, (that nearest to the tower,) of four; on the south a like disposition is observable, the form assimilating to the adjoining chancel window. The tower is certainly of much older date than any part of the nave or chancel at present existing. The moulding of the battlement is in very good taste, and the coupled belfry lights are fair in design and execution. There is little within the building to call for remark: a walled-up piscina and two sedilia in a like state of preservation are on the south side of the chancel, within the altar rails. Of memorials of the dead, the only record worthy of notice is inscribed on a slab inserted in the southern wall, and commemorates the decease of a certain Joannes Vanzoelen, who appears to have followed the drums of Duke Schomberg to the royal encampment in the neighbouring Leasowes, and finished his campaign beside the Dee instead of the storied Boyne.

But one more feature remains for notice, and that is the doorway in the western face of the tower, the flat moulding of which is bold, of good workmanship, and the architrave charged with shields and ornaments; but the bearings on the former are too indistinct to warrant their appropriation to any of the families either formerly or at present possessors of the adjacent lands.

In the existing Church of West Kirby there does not appear to be any portion remaining of very high antiquity; no portion, at least, above ground of that edifice which, together with the oratory on the islet of



II.—An Account of Warrington Siege, A.D. 1643.

By James Kendrick, M.D.

This was an abridgment of the paper which is given entire at p. 18. It was intended as an interesting specimen of the communications made to the Society.

Several other papers were in readiness, but the reading of them was postponed. Shortly after three o'clock, the meeting adjourned to the Egyptian Museum.

MEETING AT WARRINGTON.

In accordance with the Resolution, p. 100, certain Members of the Society and others, met at Warrington, on Friday, the 7th of May. The object was to explore the antiquities in the town and neighbourhood; and secondarily, to cultivate those friendly relations which are at once becoming and useful, especially to persons engaged in a common pursuit. A brief account of the Proceedings is given here, because the Historic Society was the only one that had been invited as a whole, and therefore, that was formally present. Deputations consisting of the Officers and certain Members of Council were present from several other Societies, viz., the Natural History Society, Warrington; the Chetham Society, Manchester; the Literary and Philosophical Society, Manchester; the Literary and Philosophical Society, Liverpool; the Architectural and Archæological Society, Liverpool; the Architectural Archæological and Historic Society, Chester.

From half-past nine, the gentlemen who had intimated their intention to be present began to arrive, and were received in the Museum by the Mayor, the Rector, and the Honorary Curators for the various departments of the Museum. They were then conducted through the town, and visited the objects of greatest interest connected with its past history.

On arriving at the church, the Hon. and Rev. H. Powys, the Rector, conducted the party through the various portions, noticing particularly the ancient crypt, that having formerly served for a sacristy, is now a vestry. After concluding the examination of it, their attention was drawn to a beautiful maypole, which had been presented by the rector a few days before, and round which, in all the pride of its elegant decorations, 2,000 people of all classes had experienced much innocent enjoyment on the 1st. After visiting the sacred well, in the neighbourhood, the company returned to the Museum, to prepare for the first excursion.

At twelve o'clock, carriages were in readiness, provided by the committee at Warrington, by which the whole party proceeded southwards to Stretton, to visit the Roman road recently discovered there. Beautiful sections of it had been laid open for the occasion by Thomas Lyon, Esq., of Appleton Hall; and further discoveries on the line had been made, in a field adjoining the Stretton parsonage, by the Rev. Richard Greenall. The whole facts were explained by Mr. Robson, of Warrington. For some of the facts, see Proceedings and Papers, ii. 27.

At two o'clock, about sixty gentlemen sat down to an excellent collation in the Lion Hotel, the Mayor of Warrington in the chair.

At half-past three, the carriages were again in readiness for an excursion northward, to visit the Castle Hill, at Newton, the Roman road at Haydock, and Winwick Church; some of the party who were most pressed for time, taking leave at Newton, for Liverpool or Manchester.

Precisely at seven o'clock, the town clerk, J. F. Marsh, Esq., began to receive the company at his own house at a conversazione, and, by a little after eight, those who remained, together with the clergy and gentry of the town and neighbourhood, had all arrived. Mr. Marsh received them in his magnificent library, which runs the whole length of Fairfield House, and is said to be "the pride of Warrington, and the envy of the neighbouring districts." In the course of the evening, the following Paper was read.

Historical and Antiquarian Notes on Warrington and its Neighbourhood.

By John Robson, Esq.

The object of the present communication, will be to combine as well as I can, the evidence from historical records, local traditions, and existing remains, so that each may throw light upon the other, and afford something like a continuous history of the district you have passed through this afternoon.

The earliest remains we have to notice are the Tumuli, of which we have two marked on the Ordnance Map, to the east, and a little to the north of Winwick Church. The further one has been opened, but nothing was found; the other is not correctly represented in the map, where it appears as if the lane went over it, but, in fact, the highest point is in the field, and it seems to have had two offshoots, one from its north-east side, which has apparently run across the lane, and been cut through, the other to the north-west. The centre Tumulus is from thirty to forty yards in circumference, and about eight feet above the level of the lane; it is most likely sepulchral. Castle Hill, in Newton, is probably of a later date, and I shall refer to it hereafter. Another, marked "Mound" on the Ordnance Map, is on the south-west side of Newton Common, it is on the highest bank of the valley of St. Helens' Brook, more extensive than, though not so striking as the Castle Hill, and called Windmill Hill by the country people. A windmill no doubt, has stood upon it; but such was not the original purpose for which it was thrown up; and in the absence of evidence of any sort, conjecture would be useless.

Two instruments, apparently also of this period, have been found in the district, or very near it; one, (a double-headed chisel—shall I call it?) was found in Orford, near the boundary of Winwick parish. It is formed of flint, and intended to cut with, but how it has been used, is not so easily understood, as there is no space or accommodation for a handle. It was found in the clay while making a drain. The other has been supposed to be a war club, and a formidable weapon it must have been at close quarters. It is formed of clink stone, is about 17½ inches in length, and 8 or 9 inches in circumference at the centre, tapering a little towards the ends. It weighs 6½ pounds, and was found on the left of the highway to Newton, on New Hey Farm, and not far from the track of the Roman Road you have examined to-day.

There is another unappropriated relic found at Haydock; a piece of coarse freestone has been rounded, and a hole drilled through it, the edges of the opening on both sides being bevelled off towards the centre. It was found some feet below the surface, when opening a new coalpit belonging to Messrs. Evans. Stones something like this, are used by rude nations to keep the threads steady in weaving, or it might be used to sink a net with. Perhaps we are too much in the habit of taking for granted, that instruments like these were always used as instruments of destruction or war. The stone club would answer every purpose of a modern mallet.

The next object in chronological order is the Roman Road, and though here we are at no loss for its origin or the time of its construction, there are several points of interest,

and some that may be profitable in more extensive researches; for in all archæological inquiries, a well established fact is perhaps more valuable for its application in other places than for its original local bearing. This road, which is clearly of Roman construction, is formed as you have seen, not of pavement, but of a substructure of rude masses of sandstone built up together six or seven yards wide, and covered with a thick bed of gravel, while in some places, the sod has been previously removed, and a layer of sand spread below. The depth of the road in the centre is between two and three feet, the stone foundation being about one-half. The rounded crest of the road is often plain enough, its course generally straight, and there can be little doubt, that the road at Haydock has been a direct continuation of that at Appleton, and that the whole has been formed by the same engineer. Now, as we know that the Romans had conquered the Brigantes and Cangii A.D., 50,* and that Suetonius Paulinus attacked Anglesey in 61, it seems natural enough that either then, or soon after, when Julius Agricola advanced to the north, which he did from Wales in 78, the road was formed, or at least in a state of formation. A milestone was found on the line a little to the south of Lancaster, inscribed to the Emperor Julius Philippus, who reigned between 244 and 249; but this might be a reparation or renovation at a later period; any way, the construction of the road must have been between 50 and 249.

This road has been traced to the top of Orford Avenue, on the northern line to Warrington, and to the bank of the river Mersey, at Wilderspool, on the south. Between these two points, (a distance of about a mile, through the town of Warrington) no evident trace appears, and the common opinion was, that it went between the Mote Hill and the Church; then by the bank of the river to the old ford at Latchford, and so round by the high ground to Wilderspool. A much nearer route, however, is by Orford Lane, the high ground on the west side of Fennel Street and Mersey Street, (a Roman coin of Marius was dug up last summer in Back Irlam Street, on this very line, and is now in the Warrington Museum), and across the river, by a ford just below the bridge. This ford consisting of a strong bed of gravel, may still be seen when the water is very low, but has been destroyed on the Warrington side, in improving the navigation of the river. It may then have taken the course of, and been buried under Wilderspool "causey," and so joined the road at Wilderspool. I may say that both these statements are hypothetical. The road itself has been most effectually removed.

The fact to which I shall now turn your attention, is the very perfect state of the road in some places compared with its utter destruction in others. Of course, its removal in the neighbourhood of towns is easily understood; and I think that in our investigations this day, a new and unexpected solution of the problem has been obtained at Haydock: you have seen the once-substantial and solidly-built road, crumbling away as it were, and becoming so mixed with the soil, as hardly to be distinguished from it. The soft sandstone has become thoroughly disintegrated, and we

* Tacitus, Ann. c. 12

find instead of the large ashlers which once formed its basis, a few small and scattered pieces mixed with the gravel, which itself, in many places has been purposely removed.

We must now pass over many years of which we have neither visible remains, historical records, nor household traditions, to a period when we have all of these bearing upon the history of St. Oswald, King of the Northumbrians. Oswald assumed the crown in 634, and according to Beda, "brought under his dominion all the nations and provinces of Britain, which are divided into four languages, the Britons, the Picts, the Scots, and the English." He had embraced christianity, and was a zealous propagator of the faith, of which you will find numerous details in Beda's Ecclesiastical History. He was, however, "killed in a great battle by the same pagan nation and pagan king of the Mercians, who had slain his predecessor Edwin, at a place called in the English tongue, Maserfield, in the 38th year of his age, on the 5th of August, in 642."*

Beda goes on to say, that in consequence of the miracles performed where he died, "many took up the very dust of the place where his body fell, and putting it into water, did very much good to their friends who were sick. This custom came so much into use, that the earth being carried away by degrees, there remained a hole as deep as the height of a man;" and strange enough, this is the very state of St. Oswald's well at this day. It is a hole about two feet in diameter, and apparently five or six feet deep, with a little water at the bottom, which has evidently drained from the higher ground, but the hole has not been walled round, and is simply an excavation of the soil.

We have, however, a different account in William of Malmesbury, † who says "that in the insurrection excited by Penda, King of the Mercians, his guards being put to flight, and himself actually carrying a forest of darts in his breast, could not be prevented by the pain of his wounds or the approach of death, from praying for the souls of his faithful companions." The Saxon Chronicle, year 642, says, "This year, Oswald, King of the Northumbrians was slain by Penda, and the Southumbrians, at Maserfeld, on the nones of August, and his body was buried at Bardney."

Florence of Worcester, (anno 642), uses the expression "commisso gravi prælio in loco Maserfeld nuncupato." The Annales Cambriæ under 644, have "the battle (bellum) of Cocboy, in which Oswald, King of the Northmen, and Eoba, King of the Mercians were slain." While the history of Nennius, which is also derived from antient British sources, tells us, that "Penda, son of Pybba, reigned ten years; he first separated the kingdom of Mercia from that of the Northmen, and slew by treachery, Onna, King of the East Anglians, and St. Oswald, King of the Northmen. He fought the battle of Cocboy, in which fell Eoua, son of Pippa, his brother, King of the Mercians, and he gained the victory by diabolical agency. He was not baptized, and never believed in God."‡ Geoffroy, of Monmouth, has a totally different detail, though the actors are pretty much the same.

It would be utterly hopeless to reconcile those varying statements, and I should prefer William of Malmesbury, as agreeing best with the traditions of the neighbour-

* Bed., Lib. iii, c. 9. † Lib. i, c. 3. ‡ Mon. His. Brit., p. 76.

hood; according to these, the king lived at Woodshead, where he was set upon by his enemies; he was mortally wounded, and attempting to escape, fell on the slope of the hill. The account I heard when a boy was, that his bowels gushed out, and that he kept them in his hands till he fell.

From Beda's account it follows, that the place was at a distance from any town—and no church was erected on the spot—there was also a frequented road running past it; now all these marks belong to the present locality, and we may proceed to shew that the church of Maserfield, or Mackerfield was in the time of Oswald, at Winwick.

Roger of Poictou, according to the Testa de Neville, gave to the Canons of St. Oswald, at Nostell, in Yorkshire, the church of Winwick, with two carucates of land. In Dugdale's Monasticum, we find that the Priory of Nostell was formed on an old foundation, in the time of William Rufus, and that at the beginning of the reign of Henry I., Stephen, Earl of Moreton, and his chaplain, Roger de Limesey, gave to this priory the church of St. Oswald, in Macrefield, which grant was confirmed by Henry II.* In Domesday Book we are told there were five hides in Newton hundred; of these one was in domain. The church of the manor itself had one carucate of land, and St. Oswald of the vill itself had two carucates of land, free from all claims: thus the church of the manor was distinct from the church of the vill. The King appears in Saxon times to have held all the land except five carucates. In another of the public records—the Proceedings de Quo Warranto, in the time of Edward I—Richard de Waleton claims to be bailiff of the Wapentakes of Derbyshire and Makerfield, by gift of William, Earl of Bulon and Morton, to his ancestor Walter.

That these different documents referred to the same place is certain. The hundred of Newton was the Wapentake of Makerfield, which probably was the name of the royal domain, and so furnished the title to the district now included in the fee of Makerfield. After the death of Oswald, the royal residence seems to have been transferrred to another site, to which naturally enough the name of Newton—the New Town or Vill—was given, and this again was transferred to the Hundred. To this period I would refer the formation of the Castle Hill, which might have formed a part of the inclosure of the King's residence. I am not aware that the Hundred of Newton occurs anywhere except in Domesday Book—both it and Warrington hundred merged in West Derby—but the hundred of Makerfield is still extant in a fee of the same name.

The Saxon Kings, who had no civil list, lived upon each of their manors in succession, as long as it would support them; and the piety of Oswald and zeal of St. Aidan would soon found churches all over his kingdom—of course the immediate neighbourhood of the royal manor would not be left destitute of a church—and we know that the division of parishes took place at the introduction of Christianity, or at any rate was confirmed then, and the parish church became the spiritual centre of the district. This is rather oddly confirmed by the tradition of the Pig, which is sculptured in low relief on the steeple. The tradition is, that the church was to have been built near

* Dugdale, Mon. Ang. vol. ii, p. 35.

the spot where the King was killed, but the stones and materials which were collected there from day to day, were carefully removed during the night. Upon a watch being set, it was found that a pig was the industrious agent of removal, and its natural squeak directed the founders to the present site of Winwick. The reason why the church was not built at Woodshead was clearly that the church was already at Winwick. This tradition, at least in its present form, is of late origin. The pig is the attendant on St. Anthony, who occupied the niche beside it, and the steeple itself is of the 14th century, and no part of the original structure. It is possible, indeed, that St. Anthony interested himself in the business, and the people recognised him in his pig—(or he may have been mistaken for St. Aidan, an intimate friend of St. Oswald's, though not so well known)—and placed his statue *in rei perpetuam memoriam* in the previous building; but it is not so easy to see how the saint should have been so utterly forgotten, as before the Reformation he must have been a very familiar and well known object to the people. Is it possible that the tradition can have arisen since the 16th century and the downfall of the saint from his niche?

The ornamentation of the transverse limb of the stone cross, now placed at the east end of the church, will put you in mind of the Runic cross discovered in Lancaster, and now in the museum at Manchester. It is of great interest though a mere fragment. Is it a preaching cross erected where Paulinus had stood and taught the doctrines of a purer faith to the inhabitants of Makerfield, with their King amongst the audience? or a sepulchral one to mark the tomb of some forgotten Saxon Saint or Chief? or is it a churchyard cross given by one of the later Saxon Kings, or by the Prior of Nostel when he took possession of the church and fat lands of the rectory in the time of Henry I.? Its dimensions must have been magnificent, far larger than the majority of such crosses, the wheel of which is seldom more than a foot in diameter. The interlaced ornament, though not peculiar to, was usual among the Saxons, and to this period I should refer our specimen, though instances of a later date occur in Ireland.

I shall not keep you long in describing the church. It consists of a nave with clerestory, side aisles, each terminated by a private chapel—chancel, which has just been rebuilt—porch on the south, now converted into a lumber-room—and western tower with a plain spire. The tower is of the flowing decorated period, has a western doorway, a window with a niche on each side—empty—the pig looking to the niche on the right—a door with a flat trefoil-like top inside opens on the stairs—the shafts on the south side of the nave are clustered of four round pillars, the capitals with beaded mouldings and a necking below, and supporting pointed arches, consisting of two square orders, the edges being canted off. The shafts on the north side are octagon, formed of a hollow and a round with fillets, the capitals with fleurs de-lis, or the stalk foliage, cut in the stone, and the bases with a mitred head at the corners—in fact the bases of all the columns are peculiar, and the church would gain a good deal if the present pews were removed and the whole work shewn. The arch mouldings over these shafts are the same as those of the western entrance, and two engaged shafts of the decorated

period form the entrance to the chancel. There are two shafts with square abaci at the western end of the Legh chapel, which contains the brass of Perkin Legh and his wife, and two later marble monuments of the same family. The Gerard chapel on the opposite side is enclosed by a screen of the date 1471, and contains a brass of Piers Gerard, Esq., son and heir of Sir Thomas Gerard, who died 1492. The side aisles and clerestory may have been built by Thomas Johnson, whose name appears in the inscription which is placed beneath the battlements on the outside.

The changes that have been made in the church, however, are so great, and the records connected with its reparation being *res non inventæ*, I shall take up your time no longer with attempting to distinguish the generic features, but pass on to the inscription just alluded to:—

"Hic locus Oswalde quondam placuit tibi valde.
Northanhumbrorum fueras rex, nunc que polorum
Regna tenes; prato prius Marcelde vocato
Poscimus hinc a te nostri memor esto beate
* * *
Anno milleno quingentenoque triceno
Sclater post Cristum murum renovaverit istum
Henricus Johnson curatus, erat simul hic tunc."

Makerfield is here latinized into Pratum Marcelde or Markeldsfield. The wall was rebuilt it appears in 1530, and the inscription with it, for the four first lines belong to an earlier period. The word Sclater, in the last line but one, I suppose is a proper name, but whether architect or churchwarden or something else, I am unable to say. Henry Johnson's name appears in deeds of that date; but in what sense are we to understand the word curatus?

In connexion with the present subject, we find in the Fifth Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records, p. 66, App. 2. Calendar of Letters, &c., in the Wakefield Tower, the following—"494, Roger, Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, to the King—praying aid against certain persons who had seized the churches of Leceh' [Leigh pronounced still with the guttural] Bury and Wynwyke, 29 Jan. 1264."

A few words on the "Bloody Stone" which is placed at the edge of the footpath opposite Park Barns, and I have done. The tradition is, that some great person was killed there, and the marks of the supposed blood-stains are still visible after a shower. A more particular account says, that it was a Scotch lady who was beheaded by Oliver Cromwell after Red Bank fight—which took place here—and a field on the east side of the road is said to have derived its name of Gallows Croft, at the same time, from a number of soldiers having been hanged there by the same redoubtable commander. Cromwell, however, following a beaten enemy as hard as he could, and when every hour was precious, would hardly linger on his way to behead women or hang his prisoners. The Gallows Croft is at the verge of the township, and may have been the site of the original baronial gallows, when the Baron of Mackerfield rejoiced in that important addition to his state. Mr. Beamont first suggested that the Bloody Stone, which certainly was in Newton Park, might be the place where the Welsh Knight, who had usurped the

Castle of Haigh and the Lady Mabel, was killed by the real Lord, Sir William Bradshaigh on his return from the Holy Land. This event, if it took place at all, would be in the reign of Edward I., and about the time when the church tower was built.

I have now gone through the facts and traditions connected with the history of Winwick to the 16th century. The township is decreasing in population, but whether it and Newton were ever the great towns which popular tradition would make them, may be doubted. They were certainly Royal Manors before the conquest, and Culcheth (in the parish of Winwick) has been assigned by high authority, as the site of many synods of the Anglo-Saxon Church. Many charters are dated from Cælchyth, or Cælichyth—and the place is called Kilsha by the country people. We have also one of the farm houses moated round, and called the "Old Abbey;" but when or why this name was given, is utterly unknown. It seems to point to some ecclesiastical building of remote antiquity.

Before the Meeting separated, several gentlemen expressed their individual gratification at the proceedings of the day; and on behalf of their respective Societies their best thanks, for the honour which had been done them.

SPECIAL GENERAL MEETING.

A Special General Meeting, called by the Council for the revision of the Laws, was held in the Royal Institution, on Thursday the 15th of April, at half-past one, p.m.,

Major-General the Hon. Sir EDWARD CUST, K.C.H., V.P., in the Chair.

The following is the substance of the alterations recommended by the Council, all of which were adopted unanimously:—

LAW I.—The expression was assimilated to the terms of the original Prospectus.

LAW III.—A date which was necessary only at the formation of the Society, was cancelled.

LAW IV.—A similar date cancelled.

LAW VI.—A clause was inserted requiring a retiring member to give a written notice, and to pay up all his arrears.

LAW VIII.—An unnecessary descriptive period was cancelled.

LAW IX.—Several dates like those in III. and IV. were cancelled.

LAW XV.—This, which was entitled "Powers of Council, as to Stipendiary Officers, Servants, &c.," was re-written, but without altering its effect.

LAW XIX.—The privileges of Honorary Members were modified, so as not necessarily to be for life.

LAW XXII.—Each Member was authorised to introduce two gentlemen, not Members, at any of the ordinary meetings.

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